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The Ceylon Antiquary and Literary Register



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VOLUME VI: 1920-1921.

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EDITED BY

J. P. LEWIS, C.M.G., C.C.S. (Retired), & JOHN M. SENAVERATNA, F.R.H.S.

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The Ceylon Antiquary and Literary Register.

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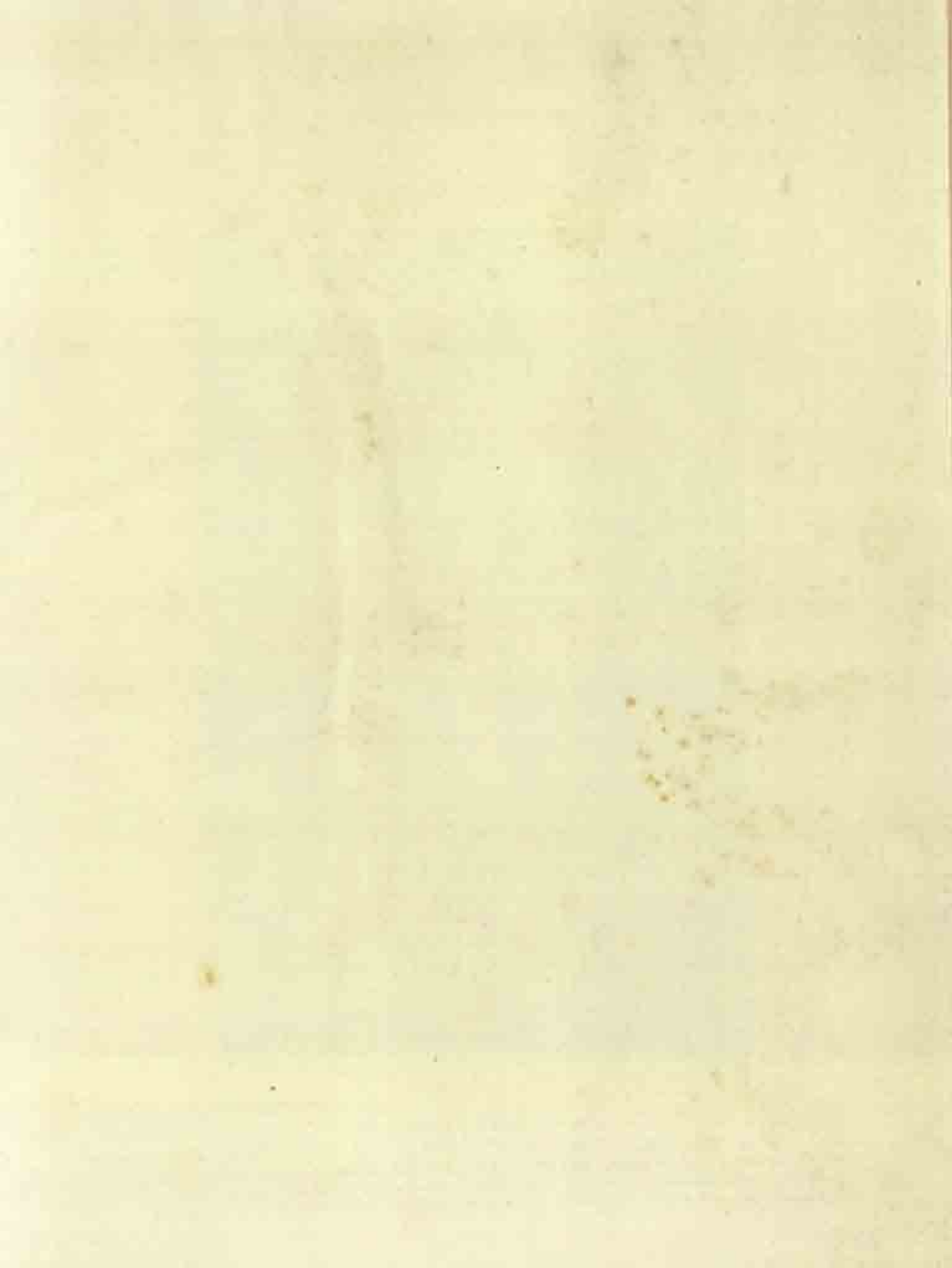
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GENERAL HAY MACDOWALL.



(From the Portrait by Sir H. Rathbone, R.A.)

General Macdowall is depicted in scarlet military coat, with gold epaulettes and yellow facings, white vest and breeches, with red sash tied round the waist, black band round the neck, and white fichu; tall boots; standing in a landscape, his right hand outstretched and holding his plumed hat and sword; behind him is seen a wheel and barrel of a destroyed cannon.

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Part I.

GENERAL HAY MACDOWALL.

By J. P. LEWIS, C.M.G., C.C.S. (Retired.)

MR. JAMES RYAN¹ recently sent me the following extract from the *Daily Telegraph* of December 3rd last :

Raeburn's Tragic General. "A great Raeburn full-length of a Scottish general is shortly to appear at Christie's. It is a portrait of that Lieut.-General Hay Macdowall, Commander-in-Chief at Madras, who, when returning from India, went down with the transport and all hands. Raeburn succeeded in imparting an extraordinary dignity of pose to this soldierly figure, and the arbitrary scheme of lighting is a *tour de force* of painting." The sale, on Dec. 12."

I immediately wrote to Messrs. Christie, Manson and Woods and asked whether it would be possible for me to communicate with the owners of the picture with a view to getting permission to reproduce a photograph of it in the *Ceylon Antiquary*. They suggested that I should wait until the sale and then apply to the purchaser. This I did; the purchasers were Messrs. Sulley & Co. of 159, New Bond Street, who readily gave me the required permission. Messrs. Christie then very kindly furnished me with three copies of an excellent photogravure of the picture, which is here reproduced.²

In the history of Ceylon under British rule General H. Macdowall played a conspicuous part. We first hear of him in connection with the Island in 1782, after the capture of the Trincomalee forts by the British, which had taken place in January. "The small garrison," says the Rev. F. Penny,³ "was further strengthened in July by the arrival from Madras of 200 men of the 78th Regiment, under Captain Hay Macdowall." This officer was

1. [Whose death occurred in Ceylon a few weeks ago. Ed. C.A.]

2. [See Plate I. *Prentiss & Co. Ed., C.A.*]

3. *Notes and Queries* II. S. XII, p. 76.

the future General, and it may be inferred that he was an officer of the 78th, which, as he was a Highlander, is not unlikely.

But this small reinforcement was of no use, for it was followed shortly afterwards by the appearance in the harbour of Admiral Suffrein with two French line of battleships. "The siege was commenced at once, and Captain Macdowall was obliged to capitulate." So says Wilson in his *History of the Madras Army*,⁴ and he recognises the fact that Suffrein had the stronger force and the larger naval guns, and that Macdowall could have no chance against the superior force. So that as regards the fortune of war, the bad luck which overtook him at Kandy had begun early in his military career.

He had bad luck, too, in other ways, as will presently appear.

For some years after this, Macdowall's service must have been out of India. For in a letter to the Marquis of Wellesley, written apparently in 1800,⁵ the General says that he had served his King "twenty-seven years, fifteen years in India." If then this service was consecutive he cannot have arrived in India until 1785. But Captain Hay Macdowall arrived at Trincomalee from Madras in 1782, and must therefore have already had some service in India.

It is clear from this statement of the General's that he joined the army in 1773. Assuming that he was fifteen years when he joined, this would make him 24 years of age when at Trincomalee—a very likely age for a Captain—42 when he went on embassy to Kandy, 45 at the time of the Kandy *debâcle*, and 51 when he perished at sea.

It is unnecessary here to give an account of the General's doings in Ceylon, whether as ambassador to Kandy in 1800, or as Commander of the expedition against Kandy in 1803, as they are fully detailed by Cordiner, Marshall and other writers on Ceylon, whose works are accessible. He seems to have had the full confidence of Governor North, who described him as "intelligent, firm, and zealous." Incidentally, it appears that his pay and allowances amounted to 11,000 pagodas a year, but that he wrote to the Marquis Wellesley in 1800 that he "had not saved one single pagoda notwithstanding the strictest attention to economy" and that his "fitting-out debts remained unpaid."⁶

In one respect he certainly was in advance of his age. He was resolute to stop duelling in the army, as the Court-Martial on Ensign John Grant and his General Order on the subject, read to the officers of the Malay Regiment in May 1802, clearly show.

I gave some account of General Macdowall as one of the "Pioneers of Natural History in Ceylon" in *Spolia Zeylanica*,⁷ to which periodical as well as Cordiner's *Ceylon*,⁸ reference might be made.

His son, Captain Macdowall, accompanied him to Kandy in 1800 as A.D.C. In January, 1809, he was selected by his father, then Commander-in-Chief, for special duty in Travancore, but the appointment was not approved by the Madras Government which appointed Major Blacker instead, notwithstanding the General's opinion that his son was "equal to Major Blacker in point of ability,—while he was superior to that officer in the knowledge of the people and country of Travancore." Captain Macdowall died in India, a Major-General, 15th May, 1834. What his regiment was I have not been able to discover.

4. Vol. II, p. 88. [See also *Ceylon Antiquary*, Vol. IV, pp. 130-138—Ed., C.A.A.]

5. Reproduced in *Ceylon Literary Register*, Vol. II, from the Wellesley MSS.

6. Wellesley MSS in British Museum, quoted in *Ceylon Literary Register*, Vol. II, pp. 282, 302; *List of Inscriptions in Ceylon*

p. 194.

7. Vol. IX, pp. 11-4.

8. Vol. I, pp. 286-6.

A nephew of the General's, John Macdowall, entered the Ceylon Civil Service as a writer, 22nd March, 1802; accompanied Governor North to the Pearl Fishery, and Jaffna in the same year; became 2nd Assistant at the Jaffna Kachcheri in April and 1st Assistant and Customs Master, 29th June, 1803; "Sea Customer" at Jaffna in succession to Ensign John Spence, 19th July, 1803; Assistant to the Agent of Revenue, Colombo, 18th August, 1803; Assistant Paymaster General, 16th May, 1804; and acting Paymaster General during the absence of Alexander Wood on special duty, 16th Oct., 1805. He died at Calcutta, 14th January, 1806.

The General, whose Indian service was chiefly in Mysore and the Mahratta country, had in March, 1804, received an appointment on the staff of the Army at Madras. In September, 1807, he was appointed Commander-in-Chief of the Madras Army in succession to General Sir John Craddock. "He would never have been advanced to this important position if he had not been a good soldier and fighting man," says the Rev. Frank Penny, late Chaplain at Madras. "It was too risky to appoint any other kind of man." But as it turned out, this appointment led to his undoing.

The Governor of Fort St. George, Sir George Barlow, had just taken steps for the abolition of the "tent contract" allowance to officers and commanding officers which enabled them to provide camp equipage. The Governor had been induced to take this step in consequence of a report made at the instance of General Macdowall's predecessor, by Colonel Munro, the Deputy Quarter-Master General, and published by order of the Governor. The latter's action was throughout most tactless and tyrannical, and the result was a dispute between him and General Macdowall which ended disastrously for the General, and among other things aroused the indignation of Sydney Smith, who wrote a very caustic article on the subject of the "Disturbances at Madras" in the *Edinburgh Review* the following year, exposing the methods of Sir George Barlow, whom he would have been "alarmed to have seen as Junior Churchwarden of St. George's, Hanover Square," much less as "head of the Indian Empire," and denouncing the unfair treatment meted out to General Macdowall and more especially his two immediately subordinate officers by the Governor.

He says of the report that, besides containing a proposal "for the reduction of the emoluments of the principal officers of the Madras Army," it was characterised by "severe and unjust invective . . . stigmatising the honour and wounding the feelings of the officers."

"The whole transaction appears to have been gone into with a disregard to the common professional feelings of an army. The opinion of the Commander-in-Chief, General Macdowall, was never asked upon the subject; not a single witness was examined; the whole seems to have depended on the report of Colonel Munro, the youngest Staff-Officer in the army, published in spite of the army."

The immediate result of the publication of this "very indiscreet paper" was that nearly all the officers commanding native regiments appealed to General Macdowall for redress. He replied that the order had been issued without any reference to him for his opinion, and he therefore deemed it inexpedient to interfere. The officers then prepared charges against Colonel Munro and sent them to the General.

Here General Macdowall, being called upon to take decisive action one way or the other, exhibited symptoms of that want of decision which perhaps explains in some measure the disastrous conclusion of the Kandyan campaign six years earlier. For two months he did nothing and then, "urged by the discontents of the army," he decided to try Colonel Munro by Court-martial and put him under arrest. Colonel Munro appealed to the

Governor, who promptly released him and put an end to the Court-martial project. The appeal did not go, as it should have done, through the hands of the Commander-in-Chief, and this was considered by the General later to be a breach of military discipline.

So the affair stood when at this juncture General Macdowall sailed * for England accompanied by Colonel Capper. But he left behind him a General Order for publication, stating that, owing to his immediate departure from Madras, he was unable to proceed with his design of trying Colonel Munro by Court-martial, but reprimanding him for "conduct destructive of subordination, subversive of military discipline, a violation of the sacred rights of the Commander-in-Chief, and holding out a most dangerous example to the service." In consequence of the publication of this order, Sir George Barlow deprived General Macdowall of his command,—which he had not yet resigned, though he had left Madras,—and suspended and eventually imprisoned the two Officers who had carried out their Commander's instructions—a duty which they were bound to perform.

Sydney Smith's conclusion was that the results of these measures on the part of the Madras Government were that "the disaffection of the troops rapidly increased; absurd and violent manifestoes were published by the general officers; Government was insulted; and the Army soon broke out into open mutiny."

It was an unfortunate time, for disturbances had begun in Travancore, and to help in quelling them the 19th Foot and the 3rd and 4th Ceylon Regiments had to be sent over from Ceylon. They were under the command of Major Charles Morrice, of the 3rd Ceylon Regiment, who had come from the 13th Foot to join the 3rd Ceylon Regiment and had been Commandant at Jaffna. He was killed at Waterloo.

The Travancore campaign lost the lives of Major Herbert Beaver, whose letters describing his doings at Mugurugampola in 1803 were recently published in the *Ceylon Antiquary*,¹⁰ and Lieutenant Thomas James Rodney,—son of the Chief Secretary; the former of whom died of wounds and the latter from the ill effects of the campaign—and also of Lieutenant Thomas Castle of the 3rd Ceylon Regiment who was killed in action. It was during this expedition that the 3rd Ceylon Regiment was in action for the first time on February 28th 1809, and behaved so well that the men were given an extra allowance of arrack after the fight.

While Sydney Smith's opinion of the Governor's proceedings was entirely adverse, his judgment of General Macdowall is also severe. "That the late General Macdowall was a weak man is unquestionable. He was also irritated (and not without reason) because he was deprived of a seat in Council, which the Commanders before him had commonly enjoyed. A little attention, however, on the part of the Government—the compliment of consulting him upon subjects connected with his profession—any of those little arts which are taught, not by a consummate political skill, but dictated by common good nature, and by the habit of mingling with the world, would have produced the effects of conciliation and employed the force of General Macdowall's authority in bringing the Army into a better temper. Instead of this, it appears to have almost been the object,—and if not the object, certainly the practice of the Madras Government—to neglect and insult this officer. Changes of the greatest importance were made without his advice, and even without any communication with him; and it was too visible to those whom he was to command, that he himself possessed no sort of credit with his superiors. General Macdowall appears to us to have been a weak, pompous man, extremely out of humour; offended with the slights he had experienced and whom any man of common address might have managed with the

* On leaving Madras in 1803 he was presented by Lt. Colonel Hare, commanding the 22nd Dragoons, with a sword from the officers of that Regiment. There are at the Royal United Service Institution a copy of a letter from Lt.-Col. Hare asking acceptance of the sword and from General Macdowall in reply to this letter, both in the General's handwriting.

¹⁰ Vol. IV, pp. 60-75.

greatest ease; but we do not see in any part of his conduct the shadow of disloyalty and disaffection; and we are persuaded that the assertion would never have been made if he himself had been alive to prove its injustice."

For this "tragic General," as the *Daily Telegraph* truly calls him, was lost at sea on the voyage home. He appears to have embarked at Madras on either the *Jane Duchess of Gordon*¹¹ or the *Lady Jane Dundas*, East Indiaman, which, with another East Indiaman, the *William Pitt*, arrived at Colombo on February 15th. He remained there a few days visiting his old friend, Major-General Charles Baillie, and entertained by Governor Sir Thomas Maitland.

The fleet carried as passengers from Ceylon Major General Charles Baillie,¹² formerly of the 51st Foot, the first Commandant of the 3rd Ceylon Regiment, which derived its first title of "Baillie's Regiment" from this circumstance. He had served under Macdowall in the Kandyan War of 1803, having been in command of the line of the army. The fleet also took away the Revd. William Hamlyn Heywood, Chaplain of Brigade to the Forces in Ceylon, who had been officiating at the Fort Church for the last five years, and who carried with him the Register of Marriages in order to have it entered in the Registry of the Bishop of London. They both perished with General Macdowall.

For the *Lady Jane Dundas* and the *Jane Duchess of Gordon* were both wrecked in the great storm which destroyed nearly a whole squadron off the Cape, the date of this catastrophe being given, on a tablet erected at Madras to some other passengers, as "on or about the 16th of March, 1809." Possibly the *William Pitt* escaped or some of the vessels in the Convoy had this good fortune, for other Ceylon passengers who left by it were the Hon'ble (afterwards Sir) Alexander Johnstone, Chief Justice, Mrs. Johnstone and family who were certainly not drowned.

The only other representation of General Hay Macdowall is to be seen in a picture from the Jonville MS (reproduced in Vol. II. of Tennent's *Ceylon*, p. 80) of the interview between him and Pilima Talawwe. He is remarkable in it for his tall stature. The original sketch was made probably by Jonville himself or by Lieut. Charles Moreau.

With regard to the form of the name, the family spell it "Macdowall." Tennent has "MacDowall" and Marshall "Macdowal."

I may add that no further information about the General or his son or nephew can be obtained from the few papers in possession of the present head of the family.

The following are extracts from Wilson's *History of the Madras Army*:-

A. "Government having determined to employ Major Blacker, then Deputy Quarter-master-General, on special duty in Travancore, acquainted the Commander-in-Chief with their intention on the 15th January. General Macdowall, in reply, requested that the subject might be reconsidered, because the selection of an officer from the general staff ought to have been left to his judgment, and he therefore recommended Captain Macdowall for the situation as being equal to Major Blacker in point of ability, while he was superior to that officer in the knowledge of the people and country of Travancore. On the 16th, Government wrote to the General

11. This I think, and so does the Revd. Penny, was the ship he sailed in, as the *Jane Duchess of Gordon* undoubtedly called at Madras, while it is not certain that the other did. But the present head of the family, H. Macdowall, Esq., Gerrard Lechwinnoch, N.B., informs me by letter dated January 18th, 1915, that it was the *Lady Jane Dundas*.

See *Notes and Queries*, II. 8. VII. pp. 447, 448; Cotton's *Madras Inscriptions*, p. 48.

12. Colonel Baillie arrived in Ceylon with the 51st Foot in March, 1800, and became Commandant of Galle, and then, in the same year, of his regiment at Colombo. He accompanied the Hon'ble F. North to Weligama in August. In the same year he succeeded to the command of his own regiment at Colombo. In April 1802 he presided at the Court-martial which tried English John Grant of the Malay Regiment (who subsequently distinguished himself by his successful defence of Damilanipura) for having challenged Captain Paul Carrington to fight a duel. He commanded the line of the Army in the Kandyan War of 1803 and the expedition against Hanguarankotte in March of that year. He returned with the army to Colombo in April. "Baillie Street," Fort, is called after him. He probably lived in it.

declining to accept his nomination of Captain Macdowall, and, on the 20th, Lieutenant-Colonel Munro was placed under arrest, by which measure the employment of his Deputy in Travancore was necessarily precluded. It is possible that the proposed employment of Major Blacker may have been unconnected with the arrest of Lieutenant-Colonel Munro, but the circumstances have a suspicious appearance, especially when it is remembered that the charges had been shelved, and that no satisfactory reason was assigned for their sudden revival."

B. "The General, who a few days previously, had announced his intention to resign, and who sailed from Madras to Negapatam on the 30th January on his voyage to England, was so much annoyed at having been overruled by Government, that he left, for publication to the Army, an Order dated the 28th *idem*, in which Colonel Munro was severely reprimanded for having appealed to the civil power, 'an act of disrespect for which he would have been brought to trial had General Macdowall remained in India.'

"Government, on becoming acquainted with this Order, directed that it should be expunged from the public records; but not contented with this, they anticipated the expected receipt, from Negapatam, of the Commander-in-Chief's official resignation, and publicly dismissed him, on the ground that the Order of the 28th January contained 'insinuations grossly derogatory to the character of the Government, and subversive of military discipline, and of the foundation of public authority.'

"Major Boles, Deputy Adjutant-General, who had signed the Order in the absence of his principal, Lieut-Colonel Capper, who had accompanied General Macdowall on board ship, was suspended from the service for having knowingly acted in direct violation of his duty to the Government, by giving currency to an Order of so offensive a character. Colonel Capper,¹² who, on his return, had immediately avowed himself to be responsible for the circulation of the Order, was suspended on the 1st February."

12. Colonel Capper and General Macdowall were both lost at sea in March, 1869, when on the voyage to England.



KINDNESS TO BIRDS AND BEASTS IN ANCIENT INDIA AND CEYLON.

By JOHN M. SENAVERATNE.

I. RELIGION.

ON things that crawl my love is shed,
ON biped and on quadruped,
ON those with many feet !
May crawling things do me no wrong,
May those that run on feet along
Do no offence to me !
All creatures that have life within,
And all our sentient kith and kin,
May ye from every hurt be free
And live beside us peacefully !¹

"Once on time long, long ago," as the old chronicles have it, a certain priest happened to be killed by the bite of a snake; and the Buddha taught that it was probably due to the fault of the dead man for not exercising compassionate thoughts towards "our little brothers" the snakes. He then enjoined upon his audience the duty of cultivating such thoughts, and taught them a song or "charm" to sing for their protection. It begins with a profession of love for the four "royal families" of snakes and ends with the lines quoted above.

This quaint little "charm," which reminds Mr. Saunders of the Fairies' Song in *Midsummer Night's Dream*, may well be, as he imagines, a bit of pre-Buddhist folk-lore incorporated into the Buddhist books.² But it may also equally well be regarded as indicating a point of view and expressing a feeling to which every Buddhist, worthy of the name, whether in Ceylon or outside it, will readily subscribe and conform in practical life, to-day no less sincerely than in the ancient and more religious past.

For, as Mr. Saunders adds in a note³ in which there is no trace of any exaggeration, "Not Killing is the chief, often the only topic, of Buddhist preaching; and frescoes on the Temple walls warn Buddhists of the punishment that will follow in the next world. It is usually regarded in Buddhist lands as more heinous to kill a flea than to tell a lie."

How true this is may well be illustrated by the following characteristic Jataka story:—

Matakabhatta Jataka,—or the Feast for the Dead.⁴

Once on a time when Brahmadatta was reigning in Benares, a Brahmin, who was versed in the three Vedas and world-famed as a teacher, being minded to offer a Feast for the Dead, had a goat fetched and said to his pupils:—

"My sons, take this goat down to the river and bathe it; then hang a wreath round its neck, adorn it with a five-sprayed garland, and bring it back."

1. K. J. Saunders, *The Heart of Buddhism*, p. 47.
2. Frazer and Thomas, *Jataka Tales*, pp. 20-21.

3. Cf. the *Atharva-Veda*.

4. See (17)

"Very good" said they, and down to the river they took the goat, where they bathed and adorned the creature and set it on the bank. The goat, becoming conscious of the deeds of its past lives, was overjoyed at the thought that on this very day it would be freed from all its misery, and laughed aloud like the smashing of a pot. Then at the thought that the Brahmin, by slaying it, would bear the misery which it had borne, the goat felt a great compassion for the Brahmin, and wept with a loud voice.

"Friend goat," said the young Brahmins, "your voice has been loud both in laughter and in weeping: what made you laugh and what made you weep?"

"Ask me your question before your master."

So with the goat they came to their master and told him of the matter. After hearing their story, the master asked the goat why it laughed and why it wept. Hereupon the animal, recalling its past deeds by its power of remembering its former existence, spoke thus to the Brahmin:

"In times past, Brahmin, I, like you, was a Brahmin versed in the mystic texts of the Vedas, and I, to offer a Feast for the Dead, killed a goat for my offering. All through killing that single goat, I have had my head cut off 500 times all but one. This is my 500th and last birth; and I laughed aloud when I thought that this very day I should be freed from my misery. On the other hand, I wept when I thought how, whilst I, who for killing a goat had been doomed to lose my head 500 times, was to-day being freed from my misery, you, as a penalty for killing me, would be doomed to lose your head, like me, 500 times. Thus it was out of compassion for you that I wept."

"Fear not, goat," said the Brahmin, "I will not kill you."

"What is this you say, Brahmin?" said the goat. "Whether you kill me or not, I cannot escape death to-day."

"Fear not, goat; I will go about with you to guard you."

"Weak is your protection, Brahmin, and strong is the force of my evil-doing."

Setting the goat at liberty, the Brahmin said to his disciples: "Let us not allow anyone to kill this goat"; and, accompanied by the young men, he followed the animal closely about. The moment the goat was set free, it reached out its neck to browse on the leaves of a bush growing near the top of a rock. And that very instant a thunderbolt struck the rock, rending off a mass which hit the goat on the outstretched neck and tore off its head. And people came crowding round.

In those days the Bodhisatta had been born a tree divinity in that self-same spot. By his supernatural powers he now seated himself cross-legged in mid-air while all the crowd looked on. Thinking to himself: "If these creatures only knew the fruit of evil-doing, perhaps they would desist from killing," in his sweet voice he taught them the Truth in this stanza:—

If folk but knew the truth that their existence
Is pain, then living things would cease
From taking life. Stern is the slayer's doom.

Thus did the Great Being preach the Truth, scaring his hearers with the fear of hell; and the people, hearing him, were so terrified at the fear of hell that they left off taking life. And the Bodhisatta, after establishing the multitude in the Commandments by preaching the Truth to them, passed away to fare according to his deserts. The people, too, remained steadfast in the teaching of the Bodhisatta and spent their lives in charity and other good works, so that in the end they attained to the City of the Gods.

But Buddhism, as well as Hinduism, not only forbade *killing*, but even the causing hurt or pain unnecessarily to any living creature—man, or bird or beast—was declared to be a sinful act, for which there would be eventual "retribution." Compassion, even in thought, was productive of "merit," and it was easier for the camel to pass through the eye of the needle than for the uncompassionate man to reach that final blessedness or emancipation which we call "heaven." Hence declares the *Hitopadesa*:

"Good men show compassion even to beings that are worthless. The moon does not refuse her light to the house of a Chandāla (I. v. 63.)

"Men who refrain from injury to others: men who bear all things with patience: men who are a refuge for all creatures: these are on the road to heaven." (I. v. 66.)

Likewise did the Buddha teach. Here's one instance out of many :

" Whoso here causeth fellow-creatures pain,
From this and from the other-world, from both
This man may forfeit all they yield of good.³
Whoso with loving heart compassion takes
On every fellow-creature, such a man
Doth generate of merit ample store"⁴

The occasion for the above has reference to a Brahmin's son, Varana, who was born in Kosala. Come of age, he heard a Thera preach the Norm in a forest, and believing, entered the Order. One day going to wait upon the Buddha he saw, on the way, a family quarrel, through which some were slain. Distressed, he hastened to the Buddha, and told him. And the latter, discerning the progress of his mind, exhorted him in the words quoted above.

But perhaps the following, from the *Sutta Nipāta* (148-9), will give a fairer idea of what Buddhism really means by "love" or "compassion" :—

" As, recking nought of self, a mother's love
Enfolds and cherishes her only son,
So through the world let thy compassion move
And compass living creatures every one,
Soaring and sinking in unfettered liberty,
Free from ill-will, purged of all enmity !"⁵

It may prove of interest to add that Buddhaghōsa, the great Commentator of the 4th century A.D., commenting upon this passage, gives the following beautiful analysis of a mother's love for her son :

" Her yearning over the infant is *Mettā*, benevolence : her longing for his recovery from sickness is *Karunā*, pity : her joy at his growing powers is *Muditā*, sympathy : and her attitude of detachment when he is married and has a home of his own is *Upākhā*, non-interference."⁶

II. LAWS OF THE STATE.

That which Religion sternly forbade, the State naturally penalised : in other words, the State, by enacting certain laws and penalties, sought to prevent in this life what Religion taught would be severely punished in the next. This was especially true of the Ancient East and nowhere more so than in India which has given us some of the most celebrated legal treatises or Codes of Laws extant. Of these one of the most noteworthy, and certainly the most comprehensive, is the *Arthashastra* of Kautilya, the famous Brahmin who lived in the 4th century B.C., and who was renowned, not only as a king-maker, but also as being the greatest Indian exponent of the art of government, of the duties of kings, ministers and officials, and the methods of diplomacy.

A study of this celebrated work discloses how serious and how anxious were the attempts made, in those early ages, not only to prevent cruelty or even unkindness to bird as well as fish and beast, but also to ensure their comfort and security during the natural period of their respective lives.

Let us note first the general regulations in regard to

3. "The good happiness comprised in both worlds."

4. Rhys Davids, *Parables of the Brothers*, O.L. XXV., p. 194.

5. Saunders, *op. cit.* p. 40.

6. Ibid.

Birds, Beasts and Fishes.

The duties of the SUPERINTENDENT OF THE SLAUGHTER-HOUSE included *inter alia* the enforcement of punishment, in the manner indicated below, in the case of the following offences:—

"When a person entraps, kills or molests deer, bison, birds, and fish which are declared to be under State protection or which live in forests under State protection (*abhayāranya*), he shall be punished with the highest amercement (*i.e.* a fine of 500 to 1000 *panas*.)

"When a person entraps, kills or molests either fish or birds that do not prey upon other animals, he shall be fined 26½ *panas*; and when he does the same to deer and other beasts, he shall be fined twice as much.

"Elephants, horses or animals having the form of a man, bull or an ass living in oceans as well as fish in tanks, lakes, channels and rivers; and such game-birds as *krauncha* (a kind of heron), *atkrasaka* (osprey), *dātyūha* (a sort of cuckoo), *hamsa* (flamingo), *chakravāka* (a brahmany duck), *jivanjivaka* (a kind of pheasant), *bhringarāja* (*Lanius Malabaricus*), *chakora* (partridge), *mattakokila* (cuckoo), peacock, parrot, and maina (*madanasārika*) as well as other auspicious animals, whether birds or beasts, shall be protected from all kinds of molestations.

"Those who violate the above rule shall be punished with the first amercement, (*i.e.* a fine of 12 to 96 *panas*.)

"Cattle such as a calf, a bull or a milch cow shall not be slaughtered. He who slaughters or tortures them to death shall be fined 50 *panas*.

"Cattle, wild beasts, elephants (*vyāla*), and fish living in forests under State protection shall, if they become of vicious nature, be entrapped and killed outside the forest preserve."

Cattle.

The SUPERINTENDENT OF COWS had to deal with the following cases, among others:—

"Whoever hurts or causes another to hurt, or steals or causes another to steal, a cow, should be slain.

"Cowherds shall apply remedies to calves or aged cows or cows suffering from diseases.

"They shall graze the herds in forests which are severally allotted as pasture-grounds for various seasons and from which thieves, tigers and other molesting beasts are driven away by hunters aided by their hounds.

"With a view to scare out snakes and tigers and as a definite means of knowing the whereabouts of herds, sounding bells shall be attached to (the neck of) timid cattle.

"During the rainy, autumnal and the first part of winter (*hemanta*) seasons, they shall milk the cattle both the times (morning and evening); and during the latter part of winter and the whole of the spring and summer seasons, they shall milk only once (*i.e.* only in the morning). The cowherd who milks a cow a second time during these seasons shall have his thumb cut off.

"If he allows the time of milking to lapse, he shall forfeit the profit thereof (*i.e.* the milk.)

"The same rule shall hold good in case of negligence of the opportune moment for putting a string through the nose of a bull and other animals, and for taming or training them to the yoke.

"When a person causes a bull attached to a herd to fight with another, he shall be punished with the first amercement (*i.e.* a fine of 12 to 96 *panas*); when a bull is injured under such circumstances, he shall be punished with the highest amercement (*i.e.* a fine of 500 to 1000 *panas*.)

"According to the protective strength of the cowherds and the capacity of the cattle to go far and wide to graze, cowherds shall take their cattle either far or near.

"Once in six months, sheep and other animals shall be shorn of their wool.

"The same rules shall apply to herds of horses, asses, camels, and hogs.

"For bulls which are provided with nose-strings and which equal horses in speed and in carrying loads, half a *bhāra* (2000 *palas* of meadow grass (*yavasa*), twice the above quantity of ordinary grass (*trina*), one *tulā* (100 *palas* of oil cakes, 10 *ādhakas* of bran, 5 *palas* of salt (*mukhalavanam*), one *kudumba* of oil for rubbing over the nose (*nasya*), one *prastha* of drink (*pāna*), one *tulā* of flesh, one *ādha* of curds, one *drona* of barley or of cooked *māsha* (*Phaseolus Radiatus*), one *drona* of milk; or half an *ādha* of *surā* (liquor), one *prastha* of

oil or ghee (*sneha*), 10 *palas* of sugar or jaggery, one *pala* of the fruit of *sringibera* (ginger) may be substituted for milk (*pratipāna*).

"The same commodities less by one quarter each will form the diet for mules, cows and asses; twice the quantity of the above things for buffaloes and camels.

"Draught oxen and cows, supplying milk (*payah*), shall be provided with subsistence in proportion to the duration of time the oxen are kept at work, and the quantity of milk which the cows supply.

"All cattle shall be supplied with abundance of fodder and water.

"A herd of 100 heads of asses and mules shall contain 5 male animals; that of goats and sheep, ten; and a herd of ten heads of either cows or buffaloes shall contain 4 male animals."

Horses.

The SUPERINTENDENT OF HORSES had to see that the following rules, among others, were duly enforced:—

"The Superintendent of Horses shall register the breed, age, colour, marks, group or classes; and the native place of horses, and classify as (1) those that are kept in sale-house for sale (*panyāgarikam*), (2) those that are recently purchased (*kṛayopagatam*), (3) those that have been captured in wars (*dhavalabdham*), (4) those that are of local breed (*ajātam*), (5) those that are sent thither for help (*sāhāyāgātam*), (6) those that are mortgaged (*panasthittam*), and (7) those that are temporarily kept in stables (*yāvathālikam*).

"He shall make a report to the King of such animals as are inauspicious, crippled or diseased.

"The Superintendent shall have each stable constructed as spacious as required by the number of horses to be kept therein, twice as broad as the length of a horse, with four doors facing the four quarters, with its central floor suited for the rolling of horses, with projected front provided with wooden seats at the entrance, and containing monkeys, peacocks, red-spotted deer (*prishata*), mongoose, partridges (*chakora*), parrots, and maina birds (*sārika*).

"The room for every horse shall be four times as broad or long as the length of a horse, with its central floor paved with smoothened wooden planks, with separate compartments for fodder (*khādanakoshthakam*), with passages for the removal of urine and dung, and with a door facing either the north or the east. The distinction of quarters (*digvibhāga*) may be made as a matter of fact or relatively to the situation of the building.

"Steeds, stallions and colts shall be separately kept.

"A steed that has just given birth to a colt shall be provided for the first three days with a drink of one *prastha* of clarified butter; afterwards it shall be fed with a *prastha* of flour (*saktu*) and made to drink oil mixed with medicine for ten nights; after that time, it shall have cooked grains, meadow grass, and other things suited to the season of the day.

"A colt, ten days old, shall be given a *kudumba* of flour mixed with $\frac{1}{2}$ *kudumba* of clarified butter, and one *prastha* of milk till it becomes six months old; then the above rations shall be increased half as much during each succeeding month, with the addition of one *prastha* of barley till it becomes three years old; then one *drona* of barley till it grows four years old; at the age of four or five, it attains its full development and becomes serviceable.

"For the best horse the diet shall be 2 *dronas* of any one of the grains, rice (*sālī*, *vrihi*), barley, panic seeds (*priyangu*) soaked or cooked, cooked *mudga* (*Phaseolus Munga*) or *masha* (*Phaseolus Radiatus*); one *prastha* of oil, 5 *palas* of salt, 50 *palas* of flesh, 1 *adhaka* of broth (*rasa*) or 2 *adhakas* of curd, 5 *palas* of sugar (*kshāra*); to make their diet refreshing, 1 *prastha* of *sarū* (liquor) or 2 *prasthas* of milk.

"The same quantity of drink shall be specially given to those horses which are tired of long journey or of carrying loads.

"One *prastha* of oil for giving enema (*anuvāsana*), one *kudumba* of oil for rubbing over the nose, 1000 *palas* of meadow-grass, twice as much of ordinary grass (*trīṇa*); and hay-stalk or grass shall be spread over an area of six *aratnis* (i.e. to form a bedding for the horse.)

"The same quantity of rations less by one-quarter for horses of medium and lower size.

"A draught horse or stallion of medium size shall be given the same quantity as the best horse; and similar horses of lower size shall receive the same quantity as a horse of medium size.

"Steeds and *pārasamas* (mules) shall have one quarter less of rations.

"Half of the rations given to steeds shall be given to colts.

"Thus is the distribution of ration dealt with.

"Those who cook the food of horses, grooms and veterinary surgeons shall have a share in the rations (*pratisvādabhajak*).

"Stallions which are incapacitated owing to old age, disease, or hardships of war, and, being therefore rendered unfit for use in war live only to consume food, shall in the interests of citizens and country people be allowed to cross steeds.

"Qualified teachers shall give instructions as to the manufacture of proper ropes with which to tether the horses.

"Veterinary surgeons shall apply requisite remedies against undue growth or diminution in the body of horses, and also change the diet of horses according to changes in seasons.

"Those who move the horses (*sūtragrāhaka*), those whose business is to tether them in stables, those who supply meadow-grass, those who cook the grains for the horses, those who keep watch in the stables, those who groom them, and those who apply remedies against poison shall satisfactorily discharge their specified duties and shall, in default of it, forfeit their daily wages.

"Those who take out for the purpose of riding such horses as are kept inside the stables either for the purpose of waving lights (*nīrajana*) or for medical treatment shall be fined 12 *panas*.

"When, owing to defects in medicine or carelessness in the treatment, the disease from which a horse is suffering becomes intense, a fine of twice the cost of the treatment shall be imposed; and when, owing to defects in medicine, or not administering it, the result becomes quite the reverse, a fine equal to the value of the animal (*patramūlya*) shall be imposed.

"The same rule shall apply to the treatment of cows, buffaloes, goats, and sheep.

"Horses shall be washed, bedaubed with sandal powder, and garlanded twice a day. On new moon days sacrifice to Bhūtas, and on full moon days the chanting of auspicious hymns, shall be performed. Not only on the ninth day of the month of Asvayuja, but also both at the commencement and close of journeys (*yātra*) as well as in the time of disease shall a priest wave lights invoking blessings on the horses."

Elephants.

The SUPERINTENDENT OF ELEPHANTS had the following among other regulations enacted for his guidance and due enforcement:—

"The Superintendent of Elephants shall take proper steps to protect elephant-forests and supervise the operations with regard to the standing or lying in stables of elephants, male, female, or young, when they are tired after training, and examine the proportional quantity of rations and grass, the extent of training given to them, their accoutrements and ornaments, as well as the work of elephant doctors, of trainers of elephants in warlike feats, and of grooms, such as drivers, binders and others.

"There shall be constructed an elephant stable twice as broad and twice as high as the length (*dyāma*) of an elephant, with separate apartments for female elephants, with projected entrance (*sapragrivām*),⁹ with posts called *kumāri*,¹⁰ and with its door facing either the east or the north.

"The space in front of the smooth posts (to which elephants are tied) shall form a square, one side of which is equal to the length of an elephant and shall be paved with smooth wooden planks and provided with holes for the removal of urine and dung.

"The space where an elephant lies down shall be as broad as the length of an elephant and provided with a flat form raised to half the height of an elephant for leaning on.

"The 1st and the 7th of the eight divisions of the day are the two bathing times of elephants; the time subsequent to those two periods is for their food; forenoon is the time for their exercise; afternoon is the time for drink; two (out of eight) parts of the night are the time for sleep; one-third of the night is spent in taking wakeful rest.

⁹ According to the Commentator: "with a room at the entrance measuring nine Angulas."

¹⁰ A balance-like rod mounted in the post to which an elephant is tied is *kumāri*.

"The summer is the season to capture elephants.

"That which is 20 years old shall be captured.

"Young elephants (*bikka*),¹¹ infatuated elephants (*mugdha*),¹² elephants without tusks, diseased elephants, elephants which suckle their young ones (*dhenakā*), and female elephants (*haastinī*) shall not be captured.

"That which is seven *aratnis* in height, nine *aratnis* in length, ten *aratnis* in circumference and is (as can be inferred from such measurement), 40 years old, is the best.

"That which is 30 years old is of middle class; and that which is 25 years old is of the lowest class.

"The diet for the last two classes shall be lessened by one-quarter according to the class.

"The rations for an elephant of 7 *aratnis* in height shall be 1 *drona* of rice, $\frac{1}{2}$ *ādhaka* of oil, 3 *prasthas* of ghee, 10 *palas* of salt, 50 *palas* of flesh, 1 *ādhaka* of broth (*rasa*) or twice the quantity (i.e. 2 *ādhakas*) of curd. In order to render the dish tasteful, 10 *palas* of sugar (*kshāra*), 1 *ādhaka* of liquor, or twice the quantity of milk (*payah*); 1 *prastha* of oil for smearing over the body, $\frac{1}{4}$ *prastha* of the same for the head and for keeping a light in the stables; 2 *bhāras* (i.e. 2,000 *palas*) of meadow grass, 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ *bhāras* of ordinary grass (*sashpa*), and 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ *bhāras* of dry grass and any quantity of stalks of various pulses (*kaṭankara*).

"A young elephant (*bikka*) captured for the mere purpose of sporting with it shall be fed with milk and meadow grass.

"Suitably to the seasons as well as to their physical splendour, elephants of sharp or slow sense (*bhādra* and *mantra*) as well as elephants possessed of the characteristics of other beasts shall be trained and taught suitable work.

"Elephant doctors shall apply necessary medicines to elephants which, while making a journey, happen to suffer from disease, overwork, rut, or old age.

"Accumulation of dirt in stables, failure to supply grass, causing an elephant to lie down on hard and unprepared ground, striking on vital parts of its body, permission to a stranger to ride over it, untimely riding, leading it to water through impassable places, and allowing it to enter into thick forests are offences punishable with fines. Such fines shall be deducted from the rations and wages due to the offenders."

Other Regulations.

In regard to "stray cattle," we find the direction that they "shall be driven out by the use of ropes or whips," and that "persons hurting them in any way shall be liable to the punishment for assault or violence."

"For causing pain with sticks, etc. to minor quadrupeds one or two *panas* shall be levied; and for causing blood to the same, the fine shall be doubled. In the case of large quadrupeds, not only double the above fines, but also an adequate compensation necessary to cure the beasts shall be levied."

"When any person renders minor quadrupeds impotent he shall be punished with the first amercement" (i.e. a fine of 12 to 96 *panas*).

"When a person destroys cocks, mangoose, cats, dogs, or pigs, of less than 54 *panas* in value, he shall have the edge of his nose cut off or pay a fine of 54 *panas*. If these animals belong to either Chandālas or wild tribes, half of the above fine shall be imposed."

"When a person causes or allows horned or tusked animals to destroy each other, he shall not only pay a fine equal to the value of the destroyed animal or animals, but also make good the loss to the sufferer."

More may be quoted to the same purpose, but there is no need. It will be amply evident that the State did not fail, in those far-off days, to second the efforts of Religion in inculcating "benevolence to all creatures."

11. According to the Commentator, "that are still suckling."

12. According to the Commentator, "that whose tusks are of the same length as those of a female elephant."

III. THE BENEVOLENCE OF SINHALESE KINGS.

In this respect the Sinhalese Kings, throughout the centuries, differed in no wise from their contemporaries in India and elsewhere in the East. On the contrary, we have ample evidence that, in the exercise of their "compassion" towards "dumb creation," they went to lengths which find no parallel in the histories of other lands. And that evidence, apart from its pathetic interest, has a particular value today as serving to remind the rulers who have succeeded to the "estate" of the Sinhalese Kings of an obligation which they incurred when they undertook¹³ to respect (or maintain?) "the laws, institutions and customs established and in force" amongst the Sinhalese people.

Those "laws, institutions and customs" derived their strength and inspiration and sanction from the Laws of Manu upon which they were, in fact, founded and upon which the Sinhalese Kings, right down to the end, relied in shaping not only their daily lives but also the processes of their government. For, does not the *Mahāvamsa* tell us, for instance of Vijaya Bāhu II, that he did not "transgress in the least any of the rules contained in the Laws of Manu, but contented the people greatly by following the four ways of conciliation" (80, v. 9); of Parākrama Pandu that "he delivered Lanka from the foes that were like thorns in the kingdom . . . and transgressed not the Laws of Manu" (80, v. 53); of Parākrama Bāhu II that "like the great law-giver Manu, he fined in a 1,000 pieces of money those who were doomed to be banished" (83, v. 6) and that he was a king "who was well versed in the Laws of Manu" (84, v. 1); of Parākrama Bāhu III who "began to reign over the kingdom, transgressing not the Laws of Manu" (90, v. 56), and of Rāja Sinha II that he was "skilful in the Laws of Manu?" (96, v. 28.)

These Laws of Manu, generally speaking, differed from Kautilya's *Arthasāstra* only in details but not in essentials. Here is, for instance in regard to the protection of birds and beasts, a brief extract from the chapter on *Civil and Criminal Law*:¹⁴

"A fine of 200 *paṇas* is set for the killing (or injury) of small¹⁵ animals, and the fine should be 50 *paṇas* in the case of propitious forest animals and birds."¹⁶

"The fine (for killing) asses, goats, and sheep should amount to 5 *māsaka*, but 1 *māsaka* should be the fine for destroying a dog or a boar."

But to return to the evidence of "benevolence" on the part of Kings of Ceylon towards animal creation:

The earliest historical reference we have to the exercise of this form of Royal compassion is to be found in the story of Elāra (B.C. 206-162) and his son. Says the *Mahāvamsa* (xxi, 15-18): "The king had only one son and one daughter. When once the son of the ruler was going in a car to the Tissa-tank, he killed unintentionally a young calf lying on the road with the mother cow, by driving the wheel over its neck." Even though the act was "unintentional," as the chronicler is careful to particularise, "the king caused his son's head to be severed from his body with that same wheel." It may be terrible justice, but still it is justice of a kind or quality which it would be difficult even to appreciate in these days. Has the history of any other country or people in the world, ancient or modern, an instance of sterner justice to relate, or even a similar story to tell?

More "compassionate" still, if less terrible in his justice, was Buddhadasa (A.D. 337-365) who "exemplified to the people, in his own person, the conduct of the Bōdhisattas"¹⁷ and who

13. At the Convention of 2nd March, 1915 (see Proclamation, para. 4).

14. Burnell and Hopkins, *The Ordinances of Manu*, Ch VIII, vv. 297-8.

15. Different sorts of antelope and deer, hares and parrots, etc. "the jackal, crow, owl, etc., are unpropitious animals" (Moff).

16. Crow, parrot, cat, etc.

17. Propitious "animals are those that bring good luck" *Mahāvamsa*, (Wij), p. 102.

had reason to declare: "Even the animal creation recognises that I am a most compassionate person."¹⁸ The tale of his kindly acts is manifold, but that which will particularly interest us in the present enquiry is that purely "out of benevolence . . . he appointed medical practitioners to attend on elephants and horses."¹⁹

His son and successor, **Upatissa** (A.D. 365-407), did more than merely emulate his father's example. His benevolence was extended to even the smallest creeping things, for we read: "He was wont to visit the *cetiya* (Ruvanveli Dagaba) and, with a broom made of the peacock's tail, sweep away *ants and other insects* from the sides thereof, saying: 'Let them get down to the ground gently'; and then taking a chank filled with water he would walk about and wash the stains left by them on the white plaster of the *cetiya*."²⁰ The *Mahāvamsa* also tells us that Upatissa was "in the habit of *setting aside rice, formed into lumps, for the squirrels* which frequented his garden, *which is continued unto this day*."²¹ As this portion of the *Mahāvamsa* was not written till the 13th century, we have the interesting fact that the custom of feeding the squirrels with rice was observed in the Island without intermission for some 900 years.

Of King **Aggabodhi V.** (A.D. 716-722), who was "diligent in good works both by day and by night," we are told that he "left no act undone that tended to the welfare of beings in this world and in the world to come The love of impropriety, the injurious exercise of patronage, the enjoyment of unlawfully acquired property: these were not at all of his nature. On the contrary *whatever food animals lived upon, that he gave to them; by whatsoever means living things could be made happy, by these means he secured their happiness*."²²

Of his successor **Kasyapa III.** (A.D. 722-728) "a man able to bear the weight of the kingdom and to govern it as in days of old," it is related that he "enforced on laymen and monks and Brahmins the observance of their respective customs, and *effectually prohibited the destruction of animal life*."²³

In like manner **Mahinda II.** (A.D. 777-797) "did all that was meet to be done for the order of monks, his subjects, *the lower animals—birds, beasts and fishes*—and his kinsfolk and the army."²⁴ Moreover, "having considered the manner in which it was most fit that food should be given to cattle in charity, he set apart for their use 100 rice-fields of standing corn, with the ears thereof full of milky juice, whereon they might graze."²⁵

Mahinda's example of benevolence towards "dumb, driven cattle" was emulated and even surpassed by his successor, **Dappula II.** (A.D. 797-802), who not only "set apart fields of grain that cattle might graze thereon," but also "gave food that had been cooked to *crews and other birds*, and fried rice mixed with sugar and honey to children."²⁶

Then, of **Sena I.** (A.D. 836-856), who "followed not only the customs of former kings but introduced other good customs which had not been before," we have the suggestive information that "to the monks, and to the nuns, and to his kinsfolk, and to all the dwellers of the kingdom—*yea, even to birds and beasts and fishes*—he did what was rightful to be done."²⁷

Next, **Kasyapa IV.** (A.D. 902-919) "from all living things on land and in water removed he then the fear of death; and the customs of former kings he observed with much care."²⁸

18. *Ibid.* 10. *Mahāvamsa* (VII), p. 164.

19. *Ibid.* XLVII, vv. 15-18.

20. *Ibid.* XLIX, v. 20.

21. *Ibid.* v. 22.

22. *Ibid.* I, v. 3.

23. *Ibid.* p. 167.

24. *Ibid.* v. 97.

25. *Ibid.* LII, v. 11.

26. *Ibid.*

27. *Ibid.* v. 147.

And in Kasyapa's name, the chief Captain of his army, Ilanga Sena, "a prince of the blood," not only "built hospitals for the prevention of pestilential diseases" and "dispensaries for medicine in divers places in the city," but "*set at liberty also many beasts that were bound.*"²⁰

Mahinda IV. (A. D. 964-980) also not only "furnished all the hospitals with medicines and beds and caused rice to be given daily to the captives that were in prison," but even "to monkeys and bears, and deer and dogs, did this benevolent man cause rice and cakes to be given."²¹

We have even stronger and more direct evidence of Mahinda IV.'s benevolence towards animals in his Vêvelkētiya Slab Inscription,²² one of the most important epigraphical documents yet discovered. This Inscription, which deals with the administration of criminal justice in the *dasagama* of Kibi-nilam district in Amgam-kuliya in the Northern Quarter of Anuradhapura, enacts *inter alia* as follows:—

"Those who have slaughtered buffaloes, oxen and goats shall be punished with death. Should the cattle be stolen but not slaughtered, after due determination thereof, each offender shall be branded under the armpit"

"Those who have effaced brandmarks (on cattle) shall be made to stand on red-hot iron sandals." (Lines 25-31.)

It is interesting to note in this connection that the above laws, enacted by the King in Council and promulgated by his Ministers, were carried into effect by a Communal Court composed of headmen and responsible householders. And we may safely infer that there could have been very little cruelty to animals in the Island in those days, at least during the 10th and 11th centuries when these laws prevailed.

And of Vijaya Bahu (A. D. 1054-1109) we learn that "this mighty man gave bulls also for the use of cripples and out of his great compassion he gave rice for ravens, and dogs, and other beasts."²³

Coming to the reign of Parakrama Bahu I. (A. D. 1153-1186) surnamed "the Great"—"the most martial, enterprising, and glorious in Sinhalese History"²⁴—it is easy to understand how he won his proud surname. The greatness of his bounty and compassion may well be illustrated by the chronicler's own words,²⁵ which are here quoted only in small part:—

"This ruler of men built further a large hall that could contain many hundreds of sick persons, and provided it also with all things that were needful. To every sick person he allowed a male and a female servant, that they might minister to him by day and by night, and furnish him with the physic that was necessary, and with divers kinds of food. And many storehouses also did he build therein, filled with grain and other things, and with all things that were needful for medicine. And he also made provision for the maintenance of wise and learned physicians who were versed in all knowledge and skilled in searching out the nature of diseases. And he took care to discern the different wants of the sick, and caused the physicians to minister to them, as seemed necessary, both by day and night.

"And it was his custom, on the four sabbaths (*upōsatha* days) of every month, to cast off his king's robes and, after that he had solemnly undertaken to observe the precepts, to purify himself and put him on a clean garment, and visit that hall together with his ministers. And, being endued with a heart full of kindness, he would look at the sick with an eye of pity, and, being eminent in wisdom and skilled in the art of healing, he would call before him the physicians that were employed there and inquire fully of the manner of their treatment. And if so be that it happened that the treatment that they had pursued was wrong, the King, who was the best of teachers, would point out wherein they had erred, and, giving reasons therefor, would make clear to them the course that they should have pursued according to science.

20. *Ibid.* xv. 25-2.

22. *Ibid.* LX. v. 71.

21. *Id.* Zep. Vol. I. No. 21, pp 241-251.

23. Turpin, *Epitome of Sinhalese History*, p 301.

24. Mahipala (W.), LIV. vv. 31-2.

25. Mahipala, LXXIII. vv. 24-26.

"Also, to some sick persons he would give physic with his own hands. Likewise also he would inquire of the health of all those that were sick, and unto such as were cured of their diseases he would order raiment to be given. And as he desired greatly to gain merit, he would partake of merit at the hands of the physicians, and impart his own merit to them,"³⁵ and then return to his own palace. In this manner, indeed, did this merciful King, free from disease himself, cure the sick of their diverse diseases from year to year.

"But there yet remaineth another marvel to relate, the like of which had neither been seen nor heard of before. A certain raven that was afflicted with a canker on his face and was in great pain entered the hospital of the King, whose store of great goodness was distributed to all alike. And the raven, as if he had been bound by the spell of the King's great love for suffering creatures, quitted not the hospital, but remained there as if its wings were broken, cawing very piteously. Thereupon the physicians, after they had found out what his true disease was, took him in by the King's command and treated him; and after he was healed of his disease the King caused him to be carried on the back of an elephant round the whole city, and then set him free. Verily, kindness such as this, even when shown unto beasts, is exceeding great. Who hath seen such a thing, or where or when hath it been heard before?"

After this, it is not surprising to be told further that the same Parākrama Báhu "ordained that freedom from fear should be given on the four holy days of every month to the beasts and the fish that moved in land and water; and this command he extended to all tanks and other places throughout the island."³⁶

And in such comparatively modern times as the 13th century, we find it recorded of King Nissanka Malla in three of his own Inscriptions³⁷ at Polonnaruwa that

"He gave security to all animals in Rantisa,³⁸ Minihoru,³⁹ Gangstala,⁴⁰ Padi,⁴¹ and many other great tanks in the three kingdoms.⁴² And he ordered that they should not be killed."⁴³

Of the same King we are also told—again in one of his own lithic records, viz., the Kirti-Nissanka-Malla Inscription⁴⁴—that on the occasion of a state visit "to worship the relics at Ravanyeti Dāgaba" in Anuradhapura, in the 4th year of his reign,

"Ordering by beat of drum that no animals should be killed within a radius of seven *gav*⁴⁵ from the city of Anuradhapura, he gave security to animals.

"He gave security also to the fish in the twelve great tanks,⁴⁶ and bestowing on Kāmbodin⁴⁷ gold and cloth and whatever other kind of wealth they wished, he commanded them not to catch birds and so gave security to birds."

There is no need of further illustration. If, as the *Mahāvamsa* again tells us (48, vv. 11-12): "Whatsoever line of conduct is pursued by the ruler of a nation, the same is followed by his subjects," we may be sure that the ancient Sinhalese, no less than their Kings, were, as a rule of daily life, kind and compassionate to "living creatures, every one." Have their descendants degenerated in this respect in our day? It is very unlikely. Perhaps, the prosecution of a little more educative work by the local S. P. C. A. may achieve better, wider and more permanent results than the criminal prosecution of ignorant men who, for the most part, "know not what they do."

35. In Buddhism the meritorious acts of one person may be participated in by another by the exercise of your daily good will, &c., and both he who gives and he who receives are supposed to be benefited thereby, if they do it in sincerity. (W.D.)

36. Mahāvamsa (W.D.), LXXIV, vv. 20-1.

37. Rantisa-Dāgaba Pillar Inscr., E.Z. vol II, pp. 137-143; Soma-Bath Sikk. Inscr., E.Z. vol II, p. 145; and Siva Deralaye Sikk. Inscr., E.Z. vol II, p. 148.

38. Saranno-Tissa Tank built by Mahāsena in the 3rd Century.

39. Mahābura (the modern Minneriya) Tank constructed by Mahāsena.

40. Gaustala or Kumbala Tank built by Asśabodhi II. in the 7th Century.

41. Pūdasāya Tank, said to have been built by Mahāsena.

42. For Sikkala, i.e., Rihana, Māva, Pihiti, the three ancient Divisions of Lanka.

43. That the same King "gave security to animals that live in forests and large tanks," we find recorded in at least four of his other inscriptions, viz.: (a) Polonnaruwa, viz. (a) Het-vāḥaḥa Pottana Sikk. Inscr., E.Z. vol II, pp. 23-24; (b) Kāṭṭhā-ga Forest Sikk. Inscr., E.Z. vol II, p. 147; (c) Rāṭṭhā-ga Forest Sikk. Inscr., E.Z. vol II, p. 155; and (d) Rantisa-Dāgaba Sikk. Inscr., E.Z. vol II, p. 138.

44. E.P. Serp. vol II, p. 22, lines 20-23.

45. According to Clough, a Japanese or Sinhalese mile is equal to about 34 English miles.

46. That is, by prohibiting fishing in those tanks.

47. "A class of lowlers."

THE MARITIME PROVINCES OF CEYLON, 1798-1805.

General History of the Hon. Frederic North's Administration.

By L. J. B. TURNER, M.A., C.C.S.

IN this section, it is proposed to include subjects which have not been already mentioned or considered under any of the heads previously dealt with. These subjects will be of two kinds, the first including material of considerable historical importance, but difficult of classification, the second embracing events of less, if not almost of trivial, importance, but which still go to complete the history of the period.

One of the subjects of the former kind may be said to be the examination of the influence of individual officials on the administration, and of the illustration of the character of the Government afforded by their conduct.

It is a curious fact that Mr. North's Government was seriously embarrassed, both at its beginning and at its end, by the attitude of subordinate officials. We have already¹ touched upon the difficulties caused to Mr. North, at the outset of his administration, by the action of the Madras officials, and the frequent mention of the "civilian war" in Mr. North's correspondence shows how great the difficulties were.² The appointment of the new Governor was not at all to the liking of the Madras civilians employed in Ceylon, and, although the Governor "acted friendly and liberally" towards them,³ they were not to be conciliated. After Andrews had been removed "with mildness and oblivion"⁴ a regular "civilian click" appears to have been formed to oppose the Governor, Collector MacDowall being the "*primum mobile*."⁵ Cleghorn, the Secretary to Government, joined this "click" on the head of the investigations made into the doings of the Pearl Fishery Commissioners—Cleghorn, MacDowall, and the Hon. George Turnour. Cleghorn wrote "reams" to Dundas against the Governor, and publicly abused him in Ceylon.⁶ MacDowall broke into "contumelious and indecent reflexions on our Government," and cancelled an appointment made by Champagne, Lieutenant Governor, on Mr. North's recommendation.⁷ Garrow, the Collector of Trincomalee, behaved in a "shockingly violent and irregular manner,"⁸ Atkinson, the Commissary, issued condemned pork to the troops, and the conduct of the Pearl Fishery in 1799 left great room for doubt as to the ingenuousness of the Commissioners.

About the middle of 1799, however, fortunately for Mr. North, a strong supporter of his arrived in the person of the new Commander-in-Chief, Major General Hay Macdowall. His first official act seems to have been an examination of the affairs of the Pearl Fishery⁹ and, although he seems to have come to a more charitable conclusion on that head than did Mr. North, it seems reasonable to suppose that his whole-hearted support considerably strengthened Mr. North's hand. MacDowall, the Collector, was dismissed; Garrow was suspended; Atkinson

¹ *Ceylon Antiquary*, Vol. IV, pp. 41 ff.

² *Wellesley MSS.*, C.C.S. II, pp. 246, 278 &c.

³ *C.C.S. II*, p. 250.

⁴ *Ibid.* ⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 246. ⁶ *Ibid.* ⁷ *Ibid.* p. 238. ⁸ *Ibid.* p. 246. ⁹ *Ibid.*

was severely reprimanded by Webbe, the Secretary to the Madras Government; and by the end of October, 1799, Mr. North writes: "I can now breathe." Cleghorn was suspended about the end of the year, and "Heaven be praised" sailed from Ceylon in the *Preston* about the beginning of February, 1800.¹⁰ From this date, Mr. North's troubles with the "Madras faction" may be said to have ceased.

In contrast to the assistance and support afforded to Mr. North by Major General Macdowall, we find in the obstructive and over-bearing attitude of his successor, Major General Wemyss, one of the chief causes of the chaotic state in which Major General Maitland found the Government on his relieving Mr. North on 19th July, 1805. Mr. North himself says little on the subject, but that little is significant. He mentions perpetual complaint and remonstrance from the General, although the expenditure on the army had grown beyond all bounds. He hints that all he knows of the military arrangements is "what (when they are once completed) they cost at the Treasury," and complains that military works were undertaken without his consent, and, in place of full discussion of affairs which took place between himself and Major General Macdowall, Major General Wemyss acts entirely on his own initiative.¹¹ So strained have the relations become, that the only remedy looked forward to by Mr. North is the arrival of his successor, who, "by the wise measure adopted at Home," is to be Commander-in-Chief as well as Governor, and who would thus "feel a direct interest in the Treasury, as well as in the Military Establishment" in place of General Wemyss' one-sided interest in the latter.¹²

Governor Maitland writes in less measured terms of the conduct of Major General Wemyss to the following effect: "The Executive Government was totally paralyzed by the unhappy differences which existed between it and the Military Power.—This, under the Command of Major General Wemyss, had assumed a Character of Independence, incompatible with the existence of good government, and the exertion of this Independence was generally manifested in some attempt to harass the Civil Power, by forcing it, under the Plea of Military necessity, to disorganize its former System of Government, and break through every Rule that had been laid down for the Establishment of Economy and Regularity in the Military Disbursements in the Island."¹³ In another place his language is even more forceful: "In short, one would imagine, instead of having a due regard to economy, that the Major General's sole object was to embarrass the Government, by increasing the expenditure, and that instead of supporting and maintaining the character of His Majesty's arms in this colony, he had assiduously studied how he could most completely disgrace and degrade it."¹⁴

Later we shall examine the grounds for this expression of opinion; here, we may abstract from the *Ceylon Examiner*,¹⁵ some account of the quarrels of Major General Wemyss with the judicial authorities, which indicate what manner of man he was, and what was the nature of the Government which permitted the wrangling.

Major-General Wemyss' Quarrels.

The preliminary dispute arose over the question of the use of a piece of ground in the Fort of Colombo, opposite the old Dutch Hoff van Justitie, on which the Legislative Council buildings were built later. The Supreme Court sittings were, at first, held in the

10. *C.L.B.W.* II, p. 278. 11. Despatch of 10th July, 1805. *IE*, 294d. 12. Despatch of 18th October, 1805, *III*, 105.

13. Private letter to Lord Camden dated 28th July, 1805 (17).

14. *Illustrated Literary Supplement*, 1876, pp. 157-16. The authorities are not given, but where references, e.g. to the *Quadrant*, are possible, the statements are found to be correct.

Hoff, and the opposite plot of ground, which had been used by the Dutch for the execution of sentences, even of capital punishment, was used by the British Supreme Court for the punishment of cases of contempt of court and others which required immediate and exemplary punishment.

But, before the land was so used by the Supreme Court, it had been given over by Governor North to Major General Macdowall to be used as a parade ground, and to be exclusively appropriated to the Military in the same manner as a barrack. This appropriation remained unquestioned for a year before and after the opening of the Supreme Court in the beginning of 1802, but the Supreme Court appears to have used the ground on several occasions for the execution of sentences passed in cases of contempt.

It was not till late in 1804 that the Military appear to have begun to feel the inconvenience of this utilisation of the ground. Reinforcements were expected, and all the ground in the Fort was required; it was also necessary to prevent access to the parade ground, and even to the Fort, as spies were supposed to be in the Town, attempting to find out the British plans against Kandy; and an order was, consequently, issued by the Commandant, Colonel Baillie, in September, 1804, to the effect that no person excepting the Military should be allowed to cross the parade. Soon after, however, a corporal punishment was inflicted on the ground by the orders of the Supreme Court; a sentry arrested the Fiscal's peon who was in charge of the prisoner; and, although he released him, the Town Major, A. Barry, wrote to the Fiscal conveying the Commandant's wishes that no civil prisoner should be flogged on the parade ground. This was communicated to the Judges, who directed Frederick Baron Mylius, the Fiscal, to confer with the Town Major on the matter.

This conference was, however, abortive: the Town Major abruptly referred the Fiscal to the Commandant; the Fiscal and the Judges were greatly annoyed; the Fiscal filed an affidavit to the effect that he expected resistance if he attempted to enter the Parade Ground; the Judges issued a summons to the Town Major to appear and answer for his conduct; the Town Major referred the Judges to the Commandant, whose the original orders were, and the Commandant was finally summoned to appear before the Supreme Court and explain. His explanation, of course, was that the parade had been given over to the Military, and that the Military could prevent people entering it. With this, the Supreme Court disagreed, relying on section 95 of the Charter of 18th April, 1801, which calls upon all officers, civil and military, to aid and assist in the execution of the powers of the Supreme Court. Colonel Baillie was called upon to withdraw the order, and on his refusing to do so, was required to enter into recognisances to keep the peace and to be of good behaviour, himself in 50,000 rix-dollars with two securities in 20,000 rix-dollars.

At this stage, the Governor interposed to effect a settlement. He directed the Commandant's obnoxious order to be withdrawn¹⁶ and himself issued a Proclamation on 19th September, 1804, reaffirming that order, and directing that no corporal punishment was to be inflicted on the Parade Ground, and that no person was to be admitted to it without the sanction of the Commandant but making the reservation that nothing contained in it was to be construed to restrain or limit the jurisdiction of the Supreme Court.¹⁷ The latter and the Proclamation were read in the Supreme Court by the Registrar; Colonel Baillie appeared with his sureties,

16. Letter of 19th September, 1804, to the Judges. 17. Gazette of 19th September, 1804.

but the Court dispensed with them and discharged him on his own recognisances. The Judges replied to the Governor's letter to the effect that they had felt obliged to uphold their authority, and the matter appeared to have ended in a deserved victory for the military.

Another Quarrel with the Judges.

But, no sooner was this affair apparently settled than another quarrel was in the making. On the 24th September, 1804, the Commandant issued an order preventing all ingress into, or egress from, the Fort, and had the Barrier Gate shut at some hour in the course of the morning. The Chief Justice, who lived in Kollupitiya, came into the Fort for the day's session through the South gate. But the Puisne Justice,^{17a} who resided at Maradana, and several officers of the Court, — Mr. Loos, the clerk, and Mr. de Silva, the Sword Bearer, and others who lived in the Pettah, — were stopped at the Delft Gate, the bridge being raised and the gate shut. The Puisne Justice appealed to the Governor, who resided where the Colombo Academy was later built, and His Excellency arrived with his suite, had the gate opened, and took possession of the keys.

Meantime the Chief Justice,^{17b} having taken his seat on the Bench, was waiting for the arrival of his colleague. Learning ultimately what had happened, he sent the Registrar, Mr. Rose, to Colonel Baillie's house to make enquiries. But the Colonel was away, and a mandate was accordingly issued requiring him to appear forthwith. On his appearance, he put in letters from Major-General Wemyss, and Captain Mowbray, the Deputy Adjutant-General, as authorities for his action, and a mandate was accordingly issued on the General to appear on the 29th September, and answer for his conduct and to be dealt with according to law. Mr. S. Tolfrey, Provincial Judge and Fiscal of the Province of Colombo, was entrusted with the service of the *sub-pœna*.

In the meantime, the matter had been taken up in Council. A meeting, composed of the Governor and the Chief Justice, was held on the 24th itself, and Colonel Baillie was summoned to produce before it the letter from General Wemyss containing the order to close the gate. This was produced, and it was declared that the General's order, given without the Governor's previous knowledge and consent, was in contempt of the Governor's Commission as Governor and Commander-in-Chief, and the General was informed accordingly, it being stated that "you cannot be so ignorant of the nature of our respective commissions as to suppose that as Commander-in-Chief over Forts and Garrisons I have not the fullest and most complete authority within and over all . . . As I feel this to be a direct contempt of His Majesty's authority delegated to me . . . I find myself compelled . . . to send an immediate and formal complaint of this extraordinary transaction to His Majesty's Ministers to be laid before His Majesty in Council."¹⁸ The Commandant was then ordered to deliver the keys of the Fort to the Governor in Council, and, on this being done, the Governor went to the Barrier of the Main Gate and ordered the sergeant who accompanied him with the keys to open the gates and desired the Fort Adjutant to keep them open till 10 p.m., the usual hour of closing them.

Another meeting of Council, again consisting of the Governor and the Chief Justice, was held on 26th September, when Major-General Wemyss' reply to the Governor's letter was read. He wrote that the opinion that he had no power to issue the obnoxious order was "perfectly novel;" that it gave him pleasure to learn that the matter was to go before His Majesty's Ministers, and that he would send home an accurate statement to be laid before His Majesty; he asks: "What reliance can I have for a moment upon any of my orders . . . if you have power to

17a. The Chief Justice was Sir G. F. Carrington; the Puisne Justice, E. H. Lushington.

18. The late Mr. E. B. Butler's copy of Council proceedings.

counteract and annul them without my knowledge. I ask common sense and common reason"; he points out that the orders should have been revoked through him, and adds that, as his authority in his headquarters had been annihilated, he is compelled to withdraw to another place where his authority is yet unimpaired—"Your Excellency will, therefore, consider yourself responsible for the safety of the Fort of Colombo, so violently seized from my authority, for I am determined not to put foot in it till . . . my authority in that Fort shall again in the most public manner be fully recognised."¹¹

That letter was dated 25th September, and, shortly after writing it, the General must have received the *sub-poena* from the Supreme Court to appear on the 29th. In the meantime, Johannes de Saram had reported to the Governor that the people were talking of nothing else but this *contretemps*, that good people think it a great misfortune and others "amuse themselves and laugh at it," and that the continuance of the Supreme Court action against the General might detrimentally affect the campaign then in progress against Kandy. The Governor, accordingly, had application made for postponement of the Supreme Court proceedings till 3rd October, and again till the 15th.

The first postponement was allowed, but the second was not granted, and the General accordingly appeared on 3rd October. He was surrounded by the officers of the garrison, and the court-house, the ground round it, and the Parade Ground were filled with soldiers. From their loud talking and gestures, a disturbance was apprehended, and the Chief Justice asked what was meant by so unusual an assemblage, adding that, if it were intended to intimidate the Judges, not all the guns of the garrison would have that effect. The General disclaimed any such intent, and ordered the soldiers to disperse and keep the peace. The Court ordered that no one was to remain inside with swords and bayonets, and the order was applied even to the General and his suite.

The proceedings consisted of the reading of the Governor's Commission and Instructions, of 41 Geo. III. cap. II, sects. 8-10 of sect. II. of the Articles of War, and sects. 73 and 95 of the Charter of 18th April, 1801. The General, on being called upon, admitted issuing the order on account of the presence of spies in the Fort, and was required to show cause why he should not enter into a recognisance to keep the peace and be of good behaviour for one year, and to appear to any libel which should be allowed against him, signed by the Advocate Fiscal. The General protested vehemently, but was informed by the Chief Justice that it would be necessary to enforce the order by charging the Fiscal upon a committal to take his body into arrest. The General then entered into a recognisance in 100,000 rix-dollars and was discharged, and this particular incident closed.

One wonders what impelled the Supreme Court to take so apparently extreme measures, evidently against the wishes of the Governor. Possibly the Chief Justice had been observing the General's domineering attitude in other matters, and took the opportunity to read him a lesson that the civil power, at least as represented by the Judges, could not be ignored, and possibly some elements of personal feeling also entered into the matter.

It was not, however, long before a somewhat similar incident recurred. In this instance, General Weymss' name appears to an interference on his part with the proceedings of the Court of Justices of the Peace of Jaffna. The members of the Court—James Dunkin, George Lusignan, Henry Layard, and George Turnour—addressed a letter of com-

¹¹ The late Mr. H. B. Suter's copy of Council proceedings.

plaint to the Secretary to Government, which was produced in the Supreme Court. Thereupon, a *mandamus* was directed to the Justices at Jaffna to proceed in the exercise of their criminal jurisdiction, and a writ of *certiorari* to transmit certain proceedings to the Supreme Court. The result was that General Wemyss was again brought into court on this matter on 15th December, 1804, but the result is not recorded.

On 17th December, 1804, the Advocate Fiscal stated that he had been informed by Mr. Farrell, the Sitting Magistrate, that General Wemyss had lodged a complaint against him. The Supreme Court, thereupon, obtained the deposition from Mr. Farrell by *certiorari*, and took evidence upon it. Major General Wemyss appeared again in the Supreme Court, and swore that he had received a challenge from Mr. Johnstone to fight a duel with him, and prayed that he might be bound over to keep the peace. Mr. Rose, Mr. Herbert Beven, and Mr. Alexander Wood were examined, and the Court held that no such challenge was sent, and that there was no sufficient reason to bind over the Advocate Fiscal.

Such were some of the "scraps" for which Major General Wemyss was either wholly or partly responsible, and which indicate how great an embarrassment his quarrelsome temperament must have been to Mr. North's none too strong Government. It was, in all probability, the report of his eccentricities towards the end of 1804 which led the Home Government to supersede both Mr. North and General Wemyss, and to unite their duties in the capable hands of General Maitland.

Other "Misdemeanours"

It was not, however, only at the beginning and end of his Government that Mr. North was embarrassed by misdemeanours, and the other instances are sufficiently illustrative of the *morale* and discipline of the time to deserve mention. The first of these was the case of Edward Atkinson of the East India Company's service, who held the posts of Commissary of Grain and Provisions, and Paymaster-General of the Troops. Although he had 16 years of official experience, he had the effrontery to inform the Military Board that he considered the deriving to himself of pecuniary advantages by sending in false returns to be an allowable, though not avowed, emolument of the office of Commissary. As Paymaster he kept no books at all, and there was evidence that he and the other Paymasters made large profits by paying for specie at the authorised rate of exchange and selling the specie in the bazaar at the enhanced market rate.²⁰

Although it may be said that this state of things was an inheritance from the Madras Administration, it is curious and extraordinary that Atkinson's two successors, in succession, in the Pay Office, committed heavy defalcations. The first was Gavin Hamilton, who drew bills amounting to a total which exceeded his disbursements by £19,675, this sum being utilised by him for purposes of private trade. This defalcation was only discovered on 11th February, 1803, after Hamilton's death, but it was met by a valuable ship belonging to him being received in discharge for £10,000, the balance being nearly made up from his other estate.²¹

In spite of the warning conveyed by this default, the administration of the Pay Office was allowed to remain such as to permit Hamilton's successor, the Hon. George Melville Leslie, to leave a deficit of over £10,000 in his sixteen months' tenure of the office of Paymaster-General. This defalcation was apparently discovered about September, 1803, and after Leslie had been allowed an unduly long time to submit his explanation, the Advocate Fiscal was directed to

20. Despatch of 20th January, 1800, § 18, 22. 21. Despatch of 1st January, 1804, § 21.

prosecute him before the Supreme Court. Prosecution was, however, averted by an undertaking to pay in the balance in cash and Dutch *credit brieven*,²² after deducting 35,000 rix-dollars, being value of the late Governor van Angelbeek's house which was made over by Mrs. Leslie's uncle in part settlement of the deficit.²³ Lord Hobart appears to have lived in this house on the occasion of his visit to Ceylon when he was Governor of Madras in 1797. After the death of Governor van Angelbeek on 3rd September, 1799, the house was occupied by Major General Macdowall, and later by Governor Maitland.²⁴

These defalcations were probably not the only ones, either discovered or undiscovered, and one wonders what the proportion of really productive expenditure was. For there was much to be done with the money, and considerable programmes were meditated and carried out from time to time.

The public works, for example, especially those erected under the orders of General Wemyss, were numerous and extensive, and the requirements of the civil government appear to have been considerable. On Mr. North's arrival, not one of the public buildings was said to be habitable; barracks and arsenals were required; the Government House was so leaky that the Governor had to rent quarters elsewhere, and charge the revenue with the rent of them.²⁵ The latter was a matter of some urgency, and a new Government House was purchased at Hulftsdorp for 4,500 star pagodas, or £1,800. Such parts of the old Government House, the present St. Peter's Church, as were habitable, were occupied by the Courts and public offices.²⁶ The Hulftsdorp house was occupied by the Governor till the end of 1803, when he removed to a house constructed by the Civil Architect out of a large powder mill and magazine at St. Sebastian's purchased for 11,000 rix-dollars.²⁷ The Hulftsdorp House was given over for the "Collector's Cutcherry" and other provincial offices, while the gardens were converted partly into a bazaar built by Government, the intention being to sell the rest as building sites, for which it was convenient owing to the proximity of the canal.²⁸

The state of disrepair of the buildings appears to have obtained till September, 1800, about which time Lieutenant Cotgrave of the Madras Engineers was appointed Civil Architect and Engineer and Superintendent of the Public Works, in order that the extensive repairs "may be conducted with economy and intelligence."²⁹ The programme included repair of the tanks in the Vanni, construction of barracks at Trincomalee, the clearing of the canal which it was hoped to extend from Colombo to Puttalam, and later to Galle.³⁰ By the following year, it became more extensive, and the works in hand or proposed were a lock to join the Kelani River with Colombo Lake; later replaced by an "inclined plain"³¹; a canal connecting the Lake with the sea, finished by the end of 1803³²; a canal, six miles long, between Marawila and Chilaw, for which a "railed road," whatever that might be, was later proposed to be substituted³³; the draining and embankment of the salt marsh of Mutu-rājawilla, south of Negombo³⁴; a canal from the Gindura River to the sea at Galle; the repair of a "dyke" or bund, called the "Cal-aar" in Batticaloa; the embankment of a low island in Batticaloa Lake for rice cultivation; a canal from Eroar to "Sitambycodyarippo"; the repair of more tanks.

22. Leslie had married Miss Jacomina Gertruda van der Gruff, daughter of Governor van der Sten and niece of a Mr. Angelbeek, a relative of Governor Angelbeek, and the *credit brieven* were probably found by them.

23. Despatch of 1st January, 1804, § 31.

24. 1804, *Ordinances*, I 28; *Perceval*, 1st plan opposite p. 21.

25. Despatch of 30th January, 1800, § 27. Maitland, III, 341. 26. Despatch of 9th February, 1799, § 111-112.

27. Despatch of 30th September, 1800, § 28. 28. Despatch of 1st January, 1804, § 107-8.

29. Despatch of 1st January, 1804, § 108. 30. Despatch of 18th February, 1801, § 103 ff.

31. *Ibid.*, 32. *Ibid.*, 34. C. L. R. W. II, and D. II, 174.

The buildings in hand or about to be were : the Governor's house at Aripu—called "The Doric"—nearly finished in September, 1802, and ultimately costing three times the estimate³⁵; pavements and drains for the Pearl Fishery at Kondachchi; Commandant's house at Jaffna, nearly finished; houses for the Collector and Judge with offices, presumably also in Jaffna; the Commandant's house at Negombo, not begun; the custom house at Colombo, not begun, an old boat-house being later adapted for the purpose;³⁶ a bomb proof powder magazine, not begun; a hospital for the native troops, not begun, later located in the school buildings at Wolfendahl³⁷; a new bazaar near Colombo, nearly finished; the Commandant's houses at Matura and Hambantota, the former begun, the latter not; a native hospital at Trincomalee, nearly finished.³⁸

Unexpected Physical Calamities.

The programme was, however, considerably interfered with by a violent storm of short duration, early in 1803, probably in March, which, *inter alia*, destroyed a great part of the fortifications of Trincomalee, besides causing a loss of 3,000 head of cattle, and much of the Government grain collected in the magazines.³⁹ There was another high storm on 7th January, 1805, especially violent at Puttalam and Trincomalee,⁴⁰ and this was followed by another on 19th April, during which the Government House, then in the occupation of Major-General Wemyss, was struck by lightning. The General, and his *aide-de-camp*, Lieutenant Wemyss, probably his son, were both in the house at the time, but escaped unhurt: the adjoining house, belonging to Kenelm Chandler, and occupied by Brigade Major Colebrooke, was also struck, but little damage seems to have been done.⁴¹

Among the other "unexpected Physical Calamities which have pursued my Government during its whole course" were serious outbreaks of cattle disease from time to time, the maximum mortality occurring between September 1800 and February, 1801.⁴² About nine-tenths of the cattle in the Island were reported to have been carried off,⁴³ and animals had to be imported from India in large quantities to supply the deficiencies. In Batticaloa District the mortality at the end of March, 1801, amounted to between 4000 and 5000 head. A later outbreak occurred in Jaffna early in 1802⁴⁴ and it was estimated that it would take the country five years to recover from the total losses incurred.⁴⁵

These and other calamities retarded the development of the Maritime Provinces, but the inauguration of more orderly Government and the cessation of direct oppression tended to encourage industry and commerce. It was hoped that the land tenure reforms would encourage agriculture, and attempts were made to develop special products. It is interesting to note, for example, that the cultivation of coffee had early attention. It is first mentioned as a "Production of Candy,"⁴⁶ but a Government plantation had been started near Negombo by the beginning of 1804, and a mill opened by De la Sossaye, who was in charge of the Kadirane cinnamon garden.⁴⁷ In 1802, 30,000 pounds had been sent to England by the merchant Conradi, but it is not clear where it was grown⁴⁸. During 1804, the exportation of coffee had doubled, and Mr. North thinks that "it will soon become a principal Branch of our Produce, as its Cultivation is extend-

35. Despatch of 1st January, 1804, § 109; See Cordier. 36. Despatch of 1st January, 1804, § 108.

37. *Ibid.* 38. Despatch of 10th September, 1802, § 101 ff. 39. Despatch of 20th April, 1803.

40. Gazette of 9th and 23rd January, 1805.

41. Gazette of 24th April, 1805. The Government House referred to appears to have been Van Angeltwek's, not the present St. Peter's.

42. Despatch of 10th February, 1801, § 5.

43. Despatch of 5th October, 1801, § 73. 44. Despatch of 16th March, 1802, § 87.

45. Despatch of 18th February 1802, § 23. 46. Despatch of 26th January, 1800, § 88.

47. Despatch of 1st January, 1804, § 57. 48. Despatch of 25th November, 1802.

ing itself rapidly in the District of Negombo." ** An extensive experiment in cotton growing was tried on Manaar Island under the supervision of William Orr, and in two other places in the locality under Werkmeister and Bastyn, late members of the Landraad; but shortage of rainfall in the middle of 1803, and the high price of labour prevented the experiment from being successful. **

But the state of the Maritime Provinces appears to have been generally backward. The country was still recovering from the effects of the Madras Administration; the land tenure reforms did not effect the expected extension of agriculture; the means of communication between the various districts were practically non-existent. There were, in fact, no roads outside the principal coast stations *1 and the only possible method of travelling was by palanquin. For his tour round Ceylon in 1800, the Governor and his suite of nine persons required 160 palanquin bearers, 400 coolies, 2 elephants, 6 horses, 50 lascars in charge of 4 tents, an escort of 60 men of the Malay Regiment, and 20 pioneers. **

In the towns, however, and especially in Colombo, Western civilisation developed rapidly. The English society of the capital, consisting of about 100 gentlemen and 20 ladies, is described as "uncommonly pleasant, an assemblage of so many excellent characters is, certainly, rarely to be found," while the "fair partners" of the officials "add to the number of pleasing objects which adorn this Indian paradise." ** Riding and quoits appear to have been the chief amusements, and two clubs, the Coconut or Whist Club for cards and the Quoits Club, were early established. The breakfast hour was 7-30 a.m.; tiffin was eaten at 1, which was esteemed "by those who can command their time" as "the best hour of the day for eating, as the evening is the most agreeable and wholesome season for enjoying a glass of wine." ** Office hours were from 9 a.m. to 4 p.m. European goods were imported from England and India—"excellent Madeira wine in Pipes," port, sherry, "coniac" brandy, hams "sugar candy in tubs," hyson, souchong, "nankeens," lutestrings, "sarsnets," card and backgammon boxes, &c. ** Punkaha were introduced from India by Major General Macdowall in 1799, and Sinhalese servants were beginning to be employed in place of Madrasis from India, and of the slaves who performed menial offices for the Dutch. **

It may here be noted, incidentally, that private property in slaves was considered to have been secured to the Dutch under Article 7 of the Capitulation of Colombo. It is said that Colonel Stuart, on the capitulation of Trincomalee, held that "private property" did not extend to slaves, but was overruled by the Madras Government, whose decision determined the future law on the subject. ** Mr. North did not, however, consider himself debarred from enforcing the regulations framed by the Dutch on the subject, or from modifying them as required. Private property in slaves as from 1st January, 1799, was admitted by Proclamation of 15th January, 1799, and their transfer was allowed, but importation or exportation was prohibited under a penalty of 500 rix-dollars. Later regulations, based on the Statutes of Batavia, are referred to in the Despatches, ** but do not appear to be forthcoming. They seem to have included provision for slaves giving evidence on oath, and for their registration, and to have aimed at an insistence of more rigid proofs of the fact of slavery **. It does not appear what the numbers of slaves in Ceylon at this time were, nor to what nationalities they belonged. Their owners are said chiefly to have been Mohammedans, ** but we know that the Dutch included a family of slaves as part of their household. ** It is, however, likely that the number of slaves owned by the Dutch decreased with the decline of their incomes which followed the fall of exchange and the rise of prices, and with the decrease of their number caused by the transfer of many of the "Dutch prisoners" ** to Batavia in 1806.

*1. Despatch of 8th February, 1805.

*2. Despatch of 24th November, 1802, 1 154-5, and 1st January, 1804 4 56. 31. Cordner, 1, 18.

*3. Ibid., 108. 33. Ibid., 74. 34. Ibid., 80. 35. Quoted in 6th March, 1805. 36. Cordner, 1, 30 and passim.

*4. Ibid., 217. 58. Despatch of 15th February, 1801, 4 11. 59. Fritham, 222. 60. Ibid. 61. Cordner, 1, 81.

*5. These "Dutch prisoners" appear to have been the Dutch subjects who remained in Ceylon after the British occupation, being granted subsistence allowances under Article 18 of the Capitulation of Colombo.

POPE GREGORY XIII AND DON JUAN DHARMAPALA.

By S. G. P.

THE following correspondence passed between the ill-used Christian king of Ceylon and Pope Gregory XIII. Dharmapala's letter is dated : Colombo, 26 January, 1574, and was sent through a Greek ; for the cruel treatment to which he was subjected prevented him even from making representations through the usual channels.

The letter was probably written in Portuguese, but it appears in the *Annales Ecclesiastici* (Theiner, i, p. 438) and in the *Bullarium Patronatus Portugalliae Regum* (Appendix) in Italian, and in the *Histoire du Christianisme à Ceylan* (Courtenay, p. 275) in French. An English translation, made from the *Bullarium*, appeared in the *Jaffna Catholic Guardian* (16th December, 1916.) The Italian version is clumsy and obscure and is given below with an attempt to English it. The original letter of Dharmapala, I am informed, is still preserved in the Vatican Archives.

Dharmapala's Letter.

Text of the Letter.

Litterae Joannis, Ceylonensis insulae regis, ad
Summum Pontificem Gregorium XIII.

Al Beatissimo et Santissimo Summo Pontefice.
Colombo nell'isola di Ceylan,
26 genn. 1574.

Beatissimo et Santissimo Signore :

Don Giovanni per gratia di Dio re di Ceylan come indegno servo di Vostra Santità con quella ubedienza che debbe mi sommetto al giogo della Santa Madre Chiesa Cattolica et ubedienza di Vostra Santità, alla quale Nostro Signore per molto longhi et prosperi anni augmenti la vita et Cattolico stato per l'augmento della santissima fede Cattolica et protezione del popolo christiano. Amen.

Io indegno d'essere numerato tra i principi christiani, che per gratia dello alto Signore Dio sono stabiliti, et con prosperità mantenuti nelli suoi stati a servizio del medesimo Iddio et Signore, voglio dare conto a Vostra Santità di me, et delle mie infelicità.

Ciò è che incontinente ch'io fui ricevuto per re et giurato per tale dalli Portoghesi, per ordine

Translation.

Colombo, in the island of Ceylon,
26th January, 1574.

Most Blessed and Most Holy Lord,

Don John, by the grace of God, King of Ceylon, unworthy servant of your Holiness,

With due obedience I submit myself to the yoke of Our Holy Mother the Catholic Church, and to the obedience of Your Holiness, whose life and Catholic state may Our Lord preserve for many long and prosperous years, for the extension of the most Holy Catholic faith and the protection of Christian peoples. Amen.

I, unworthy to be counted among the Christian sovereigns who by the grace of God Our Lord are established and maintained with prosperity in their states for the service of the same Lord and God, wish to give Your Holiness an account of myself and my misfortunes.

Hardly had I been declared King and acknowledged as such by the Portuguese by the

1. Dharmapala presented another petition to the Pope (10th December, 1594) through Frey Gaspar, *Procurador del Rey de Orléans*, asking for spiritual favours for himself and the Frumentians. *Archiv. Portugueso-Oriental*, iii, 111. Its only interest is the pathetic request from the Pope to order (1) that he be treated with the honour and respect due to his person and state; (2) that his last will and testament regarding Masses for the repose of his soul and bequest to faithful servants, be fully carried out under grave penalties and censures.

del re di Portogallo, il quale così l'ordinò te commando per le sue lettere patenti, et anche per re ricevuto da miei morto che fu il mio avo, mi cominciò a fare guerra il fratello del detto mio avo, et sono adesso venti tre anni che mi perseguita.

Mentre c'ho havuto di spendere del thesoro che trovai, et sendo gentile sono stato servito et reverito dalli Portoghesi vice-re, governatori et capitani. Et come il nemico habbia sempre havuto il dominio come realmente adesso ha, non ho possuto avere l'intrata, di modo che sendo stato speso tutto quel mio thesoro con dona tivi et petitioni concedute a Portoghesi, de quali havevo bisogno ance non venessi nelle mani del mio adversario, et questi finche porro messero in prigione mio padre, et questo per che il vice-re Don Alfonso, chi venne a questa isola, lassò ordine che così si facesse, perche non gli volse scoprire li thesori delli re passati et sendo così prigione di padri di S. Francesco lo battezzarono, et battisato in anche più restretto che prima. Or vedendosi così maltrattato, et senza causa, trovò modo di uscire di prigione,

orders of the King of Portugal, who ordained and commanded the same by his letters patent,² and accepted as King by my subjects³ on the death of my grandfather,⁴ than a brother⁵ of this grandfather began to make war on me: and it is now twenty-three years that he is persecuting me.

As long as I had treasures to spend and was a pagan, I was served and respected by the Portuguese Viceroy, Governors, and Captains. But as the enemy has always had the upper hand, as he still has to-day, I was unable to raise my rents; so that, having spent all my treasures in gifts and rewards to the Portuguese,⁶ whose help I needed, were it only not to fall into the hands of my enemy. I find myself in great distress.⁷ The Portuguese even imprisoned my father,⁸ on the orders of the Viceroy, Don Alfonso,⁹ who came to this island and left orders to that effect, because my father did not disclose to him the treasure of the ancient kings. When he was thus a prisoner the Franciscan Fathers baptised him,¹⁰ and after his baptism he was more restrained than before.¹¹ Seeing himself thus ill-treated

2. The reference evidently is to the *Aleam*, 12th March, 1543, issued at the time of his coronation in effigy at Lisbon. It is translated in *The Portuguese Era*, I, 87-88.

3. See Queyroz, *Conquista*, p. 239. "—the youthful Dharmapala Kumārāya ascended the throne and received the allegiance of his nobles, his own father being the first to make obeisance to him." *Port. Era*, I, 112. "The Portuguese raised Dharmapala to the throne and sent information thereof to Goa." *Relações*, p. 79.

4. According to Queyroz, this grandfather (Dhuvaneke Bāhu) died 29th December, 1550. As Mr. Pieris has pointed out (*Port. Era*, I, 498, n. 56) this is an obvious error. The date is about April-May 1553.

5. Mayadunne.

6. The poor king was badly treated. "—the Captains of that fortress (Colombo) and some others that came to its succour, continued to exact from that poor king even what was due to him, for one would ask him for two thousand cruzados as a favour, another for one thousand, and another for five hundred, and thus little by little they went on consuming him, all of which the Viceroy said: which becoming known to the king Dom Sebastian, he commanded that the money that had been given in those parts should be collected again, and that never again must the king make grants of money that was owing to him; the which I believe did not take effect." Couto, *J. C. B. R. A. S.*, No. 60, p. 241-2. The Governor Francisco Barreto issued an *alvará*, 3rd January 1558, about the matter, which see (*ib.* p. 186.) See also Queyroz 286, *Port. Era* I 189-90.

7. This phrase is from Courtenay, and gives better sense.

8. Widiya Bandura, called Tribuli Pandar by the Portuguese.

9. This statement is supported by Couto, *Journal* quoted, p. 156. And also among certain things that he (Noronha) left him (Dom Joan Henriques) orders to carry out, that which he most impressed upon him, was to capture Tribuli Pandar and send him to Goa." The *Relações* says that Henriques in his turn left written orders "to imprison Widiya Bandura" p. 89. But according to Queyroz, followed by Mr. Pieris, it was Pedro Mascarenhas who ordered the arrest, for different reasons. Noronha's visit took place in 1551. See Queyroz 239-243; *Port. Era*, I, 116-21.

10. So says De Couto also: "The Fathers of St. Francis had intercourse with this prince, who prayed them to make him a Christian, because he was well affected to the matters of our faith, and because in no one had he found humanity and charity except in them. The Fathers were highly gratified at this, and catechised him and baptised him." *Jour.*, p. 184.

The following is translated from the *Storia Universale delle Missioni Francescane*, (Vol. vii, pt. iii, p. 183.) "The Portuguese had imprisoned his father named Tribuli Pandar, we do not know whether on just or unjust suspicion and had put him in chains in the fortress of Colombo. To facilitate his release the King and Queen (i.e. Dharmapala and Catherine) begged the Fathers who had free access to the fortress, to try to make him a Christian. They applied themselves to it, and succeeded, and he received baptism."

But other historians are silent about it. Queyroz says (ibid.): "Wearied out at last with the privations to which he was exposed, Widiya Bandura sent a message to his son to use his influence with the Captain to obtain for him a better prison, promising to agree to any reasonable terms that were proposed, and expressing his determination to leave the island for ever, but Sovereign and the Council decided that it was inexpedient to interfere on his behalf." *Port. Era*, I, 118. Decca was unaware of the baptism. Couto, *Civista*.

11. "The Fathers baptised him without telling the Captain of this, because they feared that he would prevent them; but after it was done, they let him know of it. Dom Duarte was so angry about it, that it had been done without their communicating it to him, that he at once ordered to be put on Tribuli a huge fetter, and to fasten it to a chain, and to stop his communications with the Fathers, by whose means he thought he might obtain some alleviation, and all other consolations that a prisoner could have, whereby he reduced that unhappy (tribulada) prince to a state of utter desperation." Couto, 186. *Civista* says the same thing. "But unfortunately, when this (the baptism) came to the knowledge of the wicked Duarte Dama, the Captain of the fortress, he was so furious that he gave orders to double the chains and ill-treatment."

et come persona resentita di quello che senza ragione gli fecero, con l'aiuto del Madune mio nemico fece guerra contra i Portoghesi christiani, et finalmente morì, et fu totalmente distrutto dal proprio nemico; di maniera che la detta prigione è stata cagione di fine di perdere tutto questo mio regno, et divenire a fatto nelle mani del mio nemico.

Non contenti di questo i Portoghesi nel miglior tempo et al mio maggior bisogno messero prigione tra li mei principali capitani, tra i quali l'uno fu il mio cameriero maggiore et governatore, a quali usarono tali tirannie che la maggior parte di mia gente si ritirò al mio nemico, et doppo ch'io mi convertì alla santissima fede cattolica volendo i padri constringere i grandi, che anchora stavano duri et pertinaci nella sua erronea gentilità, et perche mi vedevano con pocho potere, pocha gente et senza regno et thesoro mi abbandonarono et sene andarono via, donde si fecero poi molta guerra, et fin adesso ho aspettato ch'il re di Portogallo mi mandasse metere nel possesso del mio regno per restorare tanti christiani, li quali sono, et vivono come gentili neelle terre del nemico che sono più di trenta milla, li quali vedendomi signore, et con potere subita tornerebbono alla ubedienza oltra molti altri che anche si convertirebbono. Or d'anno in anno mi tratengono con buona speranza, scrivendomi il re, commandando a i

without reason he found means¹² to escape from prison; and resenting what was done to him without reason, he made war on the Portuguese and¹³ Christians¹⁴ with the help of my enemy Madune, and finally died,¹⁵ completely ruined by his enemy. Thus the said imprisonment was the occasion of the loss of my kingdom and of its passing into the hands of my enemy.

Not content with this, the Portuguese, at a time most suitable to them, and when my need was greatest, imprisoned some of my principal Captains,¹⁶ one of whom was my Great Chamberlain and Governor. They treated them so tyrannically that the greater part of my people went over to my enemy. After I had become a convert¹⁷ to the most holy Catholic faith, the Fathers tried to constrain the nobles, who still remained hardened and obstinate in their false paganism; but seeing me with little power, with few subjects and without kingdom or treasures, they abandoned me and went their way: whence arose many wars.¹⁸

Up to now I was expecting that the King of Portugal would give orders to have me put in possession of my kingdom to relieve so many Christians, who live like pagans in the territories of my enemy. There are more than thirty thousand, who, were I in power as their Lord, would at once return to obedience, and many others would be converted. But year

12. Queyroz 231-232; Fort. Era. I, 128; Couto, 161; Rajawade, 61; Giverna: "Then a stratagem was tried in order to free him, and he succeeded in escaping." (65.)

13. The "and" is from Courtenay.

14. "Couto, 161; Giverna: "...then abandoning his faith, and putting himself at the head of a numerous body of natives, who were his supporters, he fell upon the coast of Galle, like a torrent, destroying all the churches, and barbarously killing all the Missionaries and Christians he found. He also set fire to a Portuguese ship, which was ready to set sail, and there is no knowing where this war of extermination would have ended, had he not been put to death by the King of Jaffnapatam, who coveted his treasures. This took place in 1558." (65.)

15. At Jaffna. For the manner and circumstances of his death see Queyroz, 261. (Fort. Era. I, 137) Raj. 86.

16. Sembahap Perumal, Senaverathu Mudilar, Tammitta Bandara, and after his baptism Francisco Berredo. Queyroz calls him Enaraz Bandar (205) Cammarayro Mor, and Secreturio do Rei (282). He was Dharmapala's paternal uncle. The office of Cammarayro Mor was conferred on him and his heirs by the King of Portugal (10th March, 1545.) Fort. Era. I, 471; Couto 166. His arrest took place in August, 1555, in accordance with the treaty entered into between Maradunna and the Portuguese. Queyroz, 264; Fort. Era. I, 131. He was taken to Goa but returned in triumph after a very short time. Queyroz, 264. At Goa he was baptised.

17. Queyroz, 261, 302. The King of Portugal wrote, under date 7th March, 1556 to congratulate the Franciscans on the achievement. See letter apud Paris, Fort. Era. I, 502. The King also wrote to Dharmapala. Queyroz, 263. See also Fort. Era. I, 501, n. 3 & Ferguson's notes in the J. C. B. S. A. S. No. 80 pp. 125, 172.

Raj. 80, mentions it at the beginning of Dharmapala's career, while Ribeiro on the contrary implies that he was baptised when "far advanced in years" (Ribeiro's *Crônica* p. 12). The Franciscan Historian Giverna has the following: "On the death of (Bonzaha) his grandson Pares-Pandar ascended the throne. He showed himself sincerely inclined to embrace Catholicism, and in the meantime he permitted a cousin of his to receive baptism. This cousin of his went to Portugal, and returning thence died at Goa, and was buried in the Church of the Franciscan convent. Pares-Pandar also allowed his Queen to receive baptism. She took the name of Catherine, and her example was followed by all the ladies of the court and by some of the nobles of the kingdom. Whereupon a great number of the people also asked for baptism. Thus in a few months 12 churches were built within a space of thirty leagues, and the Fathers, though labouring night and day, could scarcely find time to preach and baptise. Afterwards Pares-Pandar himself wished to be instructed and baptised. He was baptised, and he always showed himself a true model of a Christian King. On this account Madune and his Raji Pandar hated him to death and never ceased to persecute him cruelly. But neither tribulations nor misfortunes were able to separate him from Christ or from the sons of the Seranthe Patriarch. He always looked up to them as to his own father, and they in their turn loved him as a beloved son and sacrificed themselves wholly for his welfare." Op. cit. vol. vi., p. 247-8.

18. The chief cause of the wars seems to have been the loss of Vidiya Bandara. His death freed Maradunna from the need of the Portuguese. Queyroz, 267-271; Fort. Era. I, 140.

suoi vice-re et governatori che mi soccorrino, et questi passando fin hogi con questo; anzi con grandi provisioni hanno agiutato il nemico adiventare tanto grande c'ha questa isola come sua, et ha commercio con tutti li re del nome christiano et stato cattolico nemici, et procura di tirar a se i Mori per finire et distruggermi o vero gitarmi fuori d'un piccolo cantone, dove mi retrovo ritirato cio è una punta et porto dove passo assai miseramente la vita mia, non havendo altro che mille scudi ch'ogn'anno mi danno della faccenda del re per le mie spese.

Mai ho havuto la possibilita di mandare ambasciatori al re di Portogallo, nè anche per dare relatione di questo caso mio a V. S. accio lei mi favorisse, et ajutasse con li suoi brevi appresso del re di Portogallo, a fine che con maggior voluntà, et più brevità mi facesse restituire lo stato mio, per che i vice-re non lasciano imbarcare detti miei ambasciatori con dire, che loro hanno a sua cura questo negotio. Et come finiscono i suoi tre anni di governo sene ritornano a Portogallo con quello c'hanno robato da queste parte.

Et perche il portatore di questa è un forastiero di Grecia m'è parso di rappresentare a V. S. questa mia petitione et clamori, la quale ho fatta per vedermi così abatuto, et per la quale prego V. S. per l'amore di N. S. Giesu Christo, et di sua benedetta madre che voglia havere compassione de i miei gridi et voglia usar verso di me della sua beatitudine et solita benignità, commandando per suoi brevi al re di Portogallo, che mi mandi soccorrere con dua o tre millia huomini accio deputati col suo governatore, per conquistar questo nemico del nome christiano et di guadagnare questa isola molto grande et molto importante al servizio di Dio et aumento della fede cattolica, comodità del detto re, et securità di queste parte, et navigatione del mezzo giorno et per svegliare in alle radici l'errore gentile, et le sette mahometane che vanno molto crescendo in essa, et per potersi piantare in essa la fede cattolica et far molto frutto a la christianità, a servizio et santa lode di Dio.

after year they give me hopes. The King writes to his Viceroys and Governors to come to my aid, but they have hitherto taken little heed of it. Rather they have helped my enemy with provisions to become so important that he looks upon this island as his own. He has dealings with all the kings who are enemies of the Christian name and state, and is trying to get the Moors on his side in order to annihilate me and eject me from the small province whither I have retired—a mere patch of land and a harbour, where I lead a miserable life,¹⁹ having nothing more than a thousand *soudi*,²⁰ which is paid to me annually for my expenses out of the exchequer of the King.

I have been unable to send ambassadors to the King of Portugal, or even to represent my case to Your Holiness to beg your favour and help, and your intercession with the King of Portugal that he may secure for me the restoration of my kingdom more promptly and with greater good will, because the Viceroys do not allow my ambassadors to embark, under the pretext that they themselves look after my affairs. And when their three years' term of office is over they return to Portugal with all they have stolen in this country.

As the bearer of this letter is a foreigner, a Greek, I profit by the opportunity to lay before Your Holiness my petition and my complaints, which I do, because I feel quite despondent. And I beseech Your Holiness, through the love of Our Lord Jesus Christ and of His Most Holy Mother, to have compassion on me in my distress, and to deign to employ in my behalf your wonted beneficence by commanding the King of Portugal by your briefs to send to my help two or three thousand men with their Governor, in order to vanquish the enemy of the Christian name, and to win this island, which is a large and important one, to the service of God, the glory of the Catholic faith, to the interests of the King of Portugal, to the security of this country, to re-establish safe navigation in the South, to eradicate the pagan and Mussalman errors, which are gaining ground, and to establish the Catholic Faith in this island, and cause the Christian religion to flourish for the service and glory of God.

19. For the shabby treatment of Dharmapala, see Queyroz, 266.

20. This seems to stand for "mardas." In 1524 Dharmapala, in his poverty, applied for permission to send fifty *puttals* of cinnamon to Portugal (Arch. P.O., iii. 62), but the application was refused (p. 75) and a present of a thousand *crusados* given instead. The King gave particular instructions that his annual allowance of a thousand *puttals* should be paid to him punctually as he had no other source of income. *Ind. Era.* I. 517, s. 27. Dharmapala "only possessed some villages in the districts about Colombo" Costa, 241. See note by Ferguson ib. and p. 167 about this pension.

Non altro si no che N.S. augenti et prosperi i felicissimi giorni di V. S. et Beatitudine per mantenere la santa chiave di Santo Pietro, et rettitudine et santità ch'ha cominciato. Amen.

Di Ceylone et citta di Colombo alli 26 giorni del mese di gienario di 1574.

May the Lord lengthen the days of Your Holiness, and make them prosperous and happy, that you may retain the keys of St. Peter, and the rectitude and holiness which He has communicated to you.

From the City of Colombo, in the Island of Ceylon, the 26th. day of January, 1574.

This letter took a long time to reach its destination; at least the following reply of the Pope bears date, 1st July, 1578. It is given in the *Annales*, and *Bullarium* in the original Latin, by Courtenay in French, and by Queyroz in Portuguese (*Conquista*, p. 263-4) without date, whence *The Portuguese Era* (I, 502), where it is translated, erroneously attributes it to Paul IV in spite of Queyroz.

On 2nd July, 1578, the Pope wrote a guarded letter to King Sebastian of Portugal about the affairs of Dharmapala.

POPE GREGORY'S REPLY.

Gregorius PP. XIII.

Dilecto filio, nobili viro Joanni, regi Zeilai.

Dilecte fili, nobilis vir, salutem et apostolicam benedictionem.

Incredibiliter laetati sumus tuis litteris, tnaque pietate in fide catholica agnoscenda constantissimeque retinenda; haec enim omnis boni felicitatisque, ad quam a Deo facti ac creati sumus, initium et fundamentum est. Quo quidem nomine amplectimur nobilitatem tuam, eodemque loco et numero habemus, quo caeteros omnes catholicos principes, nec quidquam est, quod non tua causa efficere cupiamus ea auctoritate et potestate, qua a Domino nostro Jesu Christo sanctae suae Ecclesiae praefecti sumus; omnes enim, qui ubique sunt, catholicos ad nostram curam et sollicitudinem pertinere agnoscimus; te vero in primis, quem ut teneram quandam plantam summa ejusdem Christi benignitas ex ingenti illa et vasta infidelitatis solitudine transtulit in agrum cultissimum et fertilissimum Ecclesiae suae, quemque, ut Petri apostoli verbis utamur, voluit esse ex genere electo, ex regali sacerdotio, ex gente sancta, ex populo acquisitionis, ut annunties virtutes ejus, qui te de tenebris vocavit in admirabile lumen suum.

Scribimus igitur ad regem Portugalliae, ut postulas, teque ei commendamus, quantum possumus. Tu interim cave, ne te cujusvis hominis perversitate aut injuriarum magnitudine a recta fide et sancto proposito divelli sinas, hoc enim est summum malorum omnium; sicque

Gregory XIII, Pope.

To our dear son, the noble John, King of Zeilai. Beloved Son, Noble Sir,

Health and Apostolic Benediction.

We were pleased beyond belief with your letter, and with your piety in acknowledging the Catholic faith and persevering therein with the utmost constancy; for that is the beginning and foundation of all blessings and of that felicity whereunto we were created by God, in whose name we embrace your nobility and count you of the same rank and number as all other Catholic Princes. Nor is there anything which on your behalf we do not desire to effect with that influence and authority wherewith we have been set by Our Lord Jesus Christ to preside over His holy Church; for all Catholics, wherever they may be, we regard as entrusted to our care and solicitude; you above all, whom as a tender plant the great goodness of Christ Himself has transferred from that mighty and vast desert of heathenism to the most fertile and cultivated field of His Church, and whom—to use the words of the Apostle Peter—he has desired to be of a chosen generation, a kingly priesthood, a holy nation, a purchased people, that you may declare his virtues who hath called you out of darkness unto his marvellous light.²¹

We are therefore writing to the King of Portugal, as requested by you, and we recommend you to him as much as we are able. Only we warn you, not to let the perversity of any man, or the weight of wrong-doing, draw you away from the true faith and your holy purpose; for that would be the greatest of all

21. 1 Ep. of St. Peter II. 9.

iterum te dederis teterrimae servituti Sathanae, unde te summa Domini nostri Jesu Christi benignitas et sanguis semel eripuit. Non cessamus pro te orare, nec unquam defatigabimus tuas res regi commendare, inque eo omnem nostram auctoritatem interponemus.

Datum Romae apud Sanctum Petrum, sub annulo piscatoris, die prima Julii MDLXXVIII. pontificatus nostri anno septimo.

POPE GREGORY'S LETTER TO KING SEBASTIAN.

Gregorius PP. XIII.

Charissimo in Christo filio nostro Sebastiano, Portugalliae et Algarbiorum regi illustri.

Charissime in Christo fili noster, salutem et apostolicam benedictionem.

Redditae fuerunt nobis literae regis Zailai, sic enim ipse se esse in eis appellat, earumque sententiam majestas tua ex collectore nostro cognosces, summa haec est: ostendit suam constantiam in Christi fide, ad quam nuper vocatus est, colenda et retinenda. At se in summa necessitate constitutum esse propter iniquitatem cujusdam sui propinqui regnum occupantis, rogat nos, ut eum commendemus majestati tuae. Cupit enim, ut jubeas tuis ministris ducibusque, qui illis in locis sunt, ut eum armis juvent restituantque. Quia vero neque hominis ipsius, neque ejus meritorum, neque causae et postulationis equitas, neque ipsius incepti in bello cum ejus hoste suscipiendo facultatis et commoditatis notitiam ullam habemus, nihil aliud volumus hoc tempore, nisi rem ipsam majestati tuae proponere, teque rogare, ut hujus homini supplicationi satisfacias, quoad rei ipsius equitatem et tuarum rerum in illis regionibus rationem postulare intelliges: erit id nobis gratissimum.

Datum Romae apud Sanctum Petrum, sub annulo piscatoris, die ii Julii MDLXXVIII. pontificatus nostri anno septimo.

evils, and you would thus be going back to the most abject servitude of Satan, from which the highest goodness and blood of Our Lord Jesus Christ have delivered you. We do not cease to pray for you nor shall we ever weary of recommending your affairs to the king, interposing therein all the weight of our authority.

Given at Rome, from St. Peter's, under the seal of the fisherman, this first day of July, 1578, the seventh of our Pontificate.

Gregory XIII, Pope.

To Our dearly beloved Son in Christ, Sebastian, the illustrious King of Portugal and the Algarves.²²

Dearly beloved Son in Christ,

Health and Apostolic Benediction.

We have received a letter from the King of Zailai, for such he calls himself therein, the contents of which Your Majesty will learn from our collector.²³ The substance of it is this: He proclaims his constancy in the practice and profession of the Christian faith to which he has been lately converted. He says he is reduced to great straits owing to the wickedness of one of his relatives who has seized his kingdom, and asks Us to recommend him to your Majesty, for he desires that you order your Ministers and Generals who are in those parts to help him with their arms and restore him (to his throne).

But as We have no information whatever about the man and his merits, nor of his rights or the justice of his demand, nor even whether it is possible or opportune for him to undertake to wage war on his enemy, We desire nothing else at present except to place the matter before your Majesty, and to ask you to comply with his demand, as far as the justice of the case and your interests in those regions seem to you to require: and that will be most agreeable to us.

Given at Rome, from Saint Peter's, under the seal of the fisherman, this second day of July, 1578, the seventh of Our Pontificate.

²² El-Gharb, the west (Province), whence Trafalgar (Traf el-Gharb, Edge of the West.)

²³ Sometimes a 'Collector' did the work of a Nunno.

THE JESUITS IN CEYLON.

IN THE XVI AND XVII CENTURIES.

By REV. S. G. PERERA, S.J.

(Concluded from Vol. V. Part IV, page 201.)

XI. JESUIT LETTERS: 1644—1659.

1644.

[Andre Lopez.]

The College of Colombo in the Island of Ceylon.

THIS College is in charge of 11 Residences in the island, and sometimes more: some along the sea shore, and others in the inland country. The latter give much work to the Fathers, both on account of the distance, and also of the dangers from the elephants, tigers and bears, and also because they are adjoining the territory of the enemy, the Kingdom of Kandy. We must add also that the Cingalese—even Christians—are treacherous, inconstant, and ordinarily do not show very high esteem for our holy faith, although a few years ago seven of them gave their life rather than give up their faith

Residence of Moroto. Three leagues south of Colombo, along the sea shore, is the Residence of Moroto. Patron—St. Michael: 200 Christians, 50 children attend the Christian doctrine.

Residence of Vergampati. Two leagues and a half east of Colombo is the Residence of Vergampati. Patron—St. Francis Xavier; 800 Christians, 70 children.

Residence of Urgampala. Five leagues from Colombo, to the east into the interior, is the Residence of Urgampala. Patron—Our Lady; 1,000 Christians more or less in a space of three leagues; 100 children.

Residence of Matigama. Five leagues from Urgampala to the east is the Residence of Matigama, in the interior. It is the capital of the seven Corlas. Patron—The Assumption of Our Lady; 2,000 Christians, 100 children. It extends over an area of 20 leagues, as far as the frontiers of Kandy; and although it has only two churches actually annexed, there is room for 30, and if peace is restored Our Lord will allow the conversions to go apace in this Corla.

Residence of Caymel. From Matigama following the beach towards the north, we meet the Residence of Caymel. Patron—The Holy Magi. More than 1,000 Christians; 150 children. This Residence is six leagues from Colombo, and extends over a league. Annexed to it is the church of Tiavila. Patron—Our Lady. 400 Christians, 40 children.

The Residence of Madampe. This Residence of Madampe is about 4 leagues from Caymel to the north. Patron—The Assumption of Our Lady. More than 1,000 Christians, children 120. It extends over 4 leagues. Annexed to it are two churches; viz., Marávila, 3 leagues from Caymel; Patron—St. Francis Xavier. It is a place where the Saint works many miracles. 600 Christians, 50 children. It covers an area of 2 leagues. The other church is Cataner; Patron—St. Ambrose; Christians 200, children 30. One league and a half in area.

The Residence of Chilao. From Madampe to the north, along the sea shore, is the Residence of Chilao; Patron—St. Peter; upwards of 1,000 Christians, 300 children; in the school 50; half a league in area. Annexed to it is the church of Anavilundana; Patron—Our Lady. 300 Christians, 40 children. It covers an area of 2 leagues and is 2 leagues distant from Chilao.

Residence of Muncieram. The Residence of Muncieram is near Chilao in the inland : Patron—St. John the Baptist ; 500 Christians when the country is quiet ; 100 children ; annexed to it are three churches, viz., Coculuvé : Patron—The Holy Cross, 100 Christians, 12 children ; Valacheno : Patron—Holy Cross, 200 Christians, 40 children ; and Chetur : Patron—Holy Cross, 150 Christians, 20 children. These churches are within an area of 6 leagues.

Island of Calpeti. From Chilao towards the north, along the sea shore, is the island of Calpeti, with two Residences and two Fathers in charge of them. The first, Arezari : Patron—The Assumption of Our Lady, 400 Christians, 40 children, 17 going to school. Annexed to it is the church of Tataya : Patron—SS. Peter and Paul, 450 Christians, 60 children.

Residence of Etaly. Two leagues to the south of Tataya is the Residence of Etaly : Patron—St. Francis Xavier ; 100 Christians, 30 children. Annexed to this Residence are the following churches :—Nolequim : Patron—Holy Cross ; 33 Christians, 5 children ; Navelcaru : Patron—Assumption of Our Lady ; 100 Christians, 20 children ; Maripo : four leagues from Navelcaru : Patron—Holy Cross ; 50 Christians, 6 children. Nearer to Etaly there are a few Christians in several villages, viz., Telle, 30 ; Palicure, 40 ; Curecure 18, with 5 children. Near Navelcaru, at Tetapuli, 28. At Puldaevael, 50 Christians, 10 children, 4 going to school. To this Residence belongs the church of the Presentation, which is on the mainland in front of Calpeti. Patron—St. Francis Xavier, 400 Christians, 50 children. This Residence extends over 8 leagues and includes 16 aldeas. The Father of this Residence is constantly going from church to church, and in great danger, on account of the many elephants, tigers and bears, and of the hostile Cingalese who roam through these woods.

Total. Christians belonging to the College of Colombo, 11,149.

Children attending catechism, 1,420. **

1648.

[Balthazar da Costa: 28 NOVEMBER, 1648.]

The Island of Ceilao and the College of Colombo.

It is impossible to relate without great grief the miserable state of this island and its missions, so flourishing both in spiritual and in temporal matters only a few years ago. Many quires of paper would be needed if one wished to relate its pitiful tragedies, but time does not permit me to do it, and copious descriptions of it are not wanting from other sources.

At present the Society has in this island the College of Colombo and in it 11 subjects, one of whom is Rector, one procurator, one preacher, one master of Latin, another teaches in the school, besides two Lay Brothers. In the College they perform the ministry of the Society with great care, not only in the city but also in the camp which His Majesty has in this *Conquista*. Subject to the College are many Residences and in them numerous Christians. Four of these Residences are in the country now occupied by the Hollanders. The Christians are partly dispersed owing to the violence of the King of Candea, who is in the interior of the island, and partly owing to the ill-treatment of the Hollanders. The churches are all destroyed. There remain six Residences in which are 3,020 persons fit for confession, and more than 300 children. Five or six Fathers are in charge of these churches. They have not a little trouble, as the Christians are very much scattered.

Besides the usual confessions and communions we had some adult baptisms. Of these I will mention only a few cases. In a Residence called Morotto, the church of which is dedicated to the Archangel St. Michael, it happened that an old woman of about 80 years old, going from one village to another with a pot of milk on her head, came across an elephant which, taking her with its trunk, gave her such a toss that she fell on the spot and broke both her legs. Luckily for her, the elephant was occupied with the milk, and people hearing her clamours ran to her assistance and drove the elephant away. When they took her to her house and tried to dress her wounds, she asked them to call the Father to make her a Christian, for it was the God of the Christians of whom she thought in her peril and who delivered her from death. The Father came, and not only she but her daughter and grandson were all baptised, and now live as good Christians.

The chief man of a certain town called Lanca dreamt that he was taken to a place which seemed to him to be no other than hell itself. The poor man called out to his false gods to deliver him from the horrid place, but not receiving any help from them he bethought himself

of our religion, and remembering that the Christians deliver themselves from such dangers by making the sign of the cross, he made the sign of the cross in his fright as he had seen how the Christians do it. Thereupon he was immediately delivered. On awaking he came a journey two leagues to find the Father, and after being duly catechised received holy baptism.

In another village called *Madampe*, when the Father was conversing with some Portuguese, they saw a big heron (*granco*) which settled on a tree. The Portuguese in their curiosity approached it to observe it from close quarters, whereupon another of the same size appeared, and both retired into the forest going from tree to tree, thus arousing the curiosity of those present. They followed into the wood and came upon a hut in which was an aged woman. In the course of conversation they learnt that she was 120 years old, for she remembered the time when there were no Portuguese in the island. The Father asked whether she was a Christian. When she replied that she was not, the Father asked whether she wished to be one. To which she replied that she was awaiting death. The Father catechised and baptised her, and not long after she died, leaving all in admiration of the means which the Divine Goodness made use of to save those who are predestined.

Another case no less worthy of Divine praise is related by another Father about a Christian woman. She was suffering from so acute and malignant a fever that in a short time she was unable to speak and lost the use of the other senses as well. The Father, hearing of the state of the invalid, visited her to see whether anything could be done. And, strange to say, when the Father approached she spoke clearly and was able to make her confession and received Extreme Unction before she died.

Another Christian had a sick child, whom, in spite of the illness which did not seem dangerous, they did not wish to be baptised till the eighth day. The Father knowing this, and moved by an inner impulse, baptised it in spite of the repugnance of the relatives, who wished it to be done with all solemnity. It was quite fortunate that the Father did so, for the child only survived for two hours.

There was in the town of Colombo, and attached to our College, an *Ermida* of St. Francis Xavier, much frequented by the Portuguese, Paravars and other Christians. This *Ermida* was closed to avoid trouble with the Prelates, and the statue of the Saint was removed to one of the altars of the church, where the devotion of the people continues as before. It is credited with many miracles as may be seen from the offerings with which the altar is always full, viz., feet, hands, eyes, in memory of benefits conferred by the Saint to those who commended themselves to him. Here is an instance:

A woman who was given up by the doctors made ready for death, and came to the church saying that she wished to die at the foot of the altar of the Saint. But she found life where she came for death, for she recovered suddenly and was completely cured in a few days. Some other Christians came on a pilgrimage to this statue of St. Francis, from a distance of three days' journey. They travelled by river in a boat, but as there was heavy rain on the way, they suffered heavily as there was no fire in the boat. Then they recommended themselves to the Saint. Nor was it in vain, for they at once came upon a firebrand which they did not know to be in the boat. Another man, who was given up by the doctors and had prepared himself for death by a confession, again sent for the Father saying that he felt in his heart, that if he made his confession again he would be cured at once. And so indeed it happened, for while he was making his confession the fever left him and he was completely cured.

At *Urgampola*, which is an agricultural village, the elephants did great damage to the fields and killed many people. When the Christians complained of this to the Father he recommended them to take a few ears of paddy and offer them on the altar, which they did; and, strange to say, no elephant ever again came to that place which was formerly infested with them.***

1654.

(*Joannes Caldeira*: 15 DECEMBER, 1654.)

The College of Colombo.

At present this College is hard pressed owing to the many and pressing needs of the war, and the number of Ours is reduced to six only. These, in spite of their great labours, can hardly cope with the work. The esteem which the citizens have for the Fathers and the long

standing appreciation of their worth, afforded them scope for more activity than their strength could bear, in spiritual matters, and no less in secular affairs which seem to derive success from the very sanctity of the Society. They greatly esteem Ours because they have experienced the usefulness of their labours. And for good reason; for past services are a pledge of future ones, and whosoever spontaneously begins to help others is, as it were, in duty bound to continue as he had begun. Wherefore the Fathers devote themselves to the best of their ability, to the true works of the Society, to the great satisfaction of all and to the credit of the Society.

The charity of the Fathers in procuring the welfare of the soldiers is especially worthy of mention. As the funds necessary for the relief of the needy were wanting, alms were collected in the streets of the town.

Thirty Hollanders (*Batavi*) were also reconciled to the faith. Of these many departed this life in the hospital, fortified by the sacraments and giving signs of extraordinary piety and predestination; while others persevere in the faith and render services to the Portuguese by fighting against the heretics themselves.

This year there died Brother Antonio Joannes, former Coadjutor, ripe in years spent in the practice of eminent virtues. Like an innocent dove he took his flight to heaven, having received the Heavenly Food on the day before his death in the church, and leaving to Ours and outsiders alike a noble example of virtue, the highest reputation, and renown above the ordinary.

In the recent mutiny of the soldiers the Society had full scope for work. For some reason or other, both soldiers and townsmen were burning with deadly hatred of the General, and the unhappy town was threatened with dire calamities, being menaced with destruction both from without and within. Seven ships of the Batavians were menacing the town by sea cutting off supplies, and by land they were hovering not far from our defences. The open enemy was less to be feared, for the defenders themselves, to whom one could naturally look for help, threatened the town with horrible disaster. In the camp discordant cries were heard on all sides and the divided city foreboded calamity. Already, the women were running about with dishevelled hair, lamenting the imminent ruin.

It was then that our Fathers, prevailed upon by the entreaties of the townfolk, and anxious for the common weal, came forward, crucifix in hand, to quell the disturbance. The Franciscan Friars also came to the rescue, carrying the same weapon. Wonderful to say, the hatred which was gathering thick in the hearts of all was speedily softened at the sight of that Sign, more wonderful than the sign of Moses. Their hard hearts melted at the sight of their crucified Lord, and the hideous omens of death which well nigh filled the town gave place to life again.

Yet peace was not completely restored at the sight of Jesus dying in streams of blood. Its completion must be attributed, and very appropriately, to the most holy Bread. The Rector of the College came forth carrying the Blessed Sacrament in full view. This memorial of Our Lord's love, the pledge of His eternal friendship with men, changed the vision of death and the madness of hatred into the triumph of universal friendship. Both soldiers and citizens bound themselves by oath not to harm any one at all, least of all the General, on whose head the sad plot was to wreak itself.

It was the common verdict that it was to the Society that the town owed its salvation and the General his life. There were rejoicings at the Fathers' triumph and the common liberation. The bells sent forth their joyous peal, and what is a surer sign of joy, the people unanimously congratulated one another. What is regarded as a very great commendation of the victory is that it was achieved by our Fathers without slaughter or bloodshed.

When peace was restored in this manner, three rulers were chosen to conduct the affairs of the Government until the Viceroy of Goa sent his orders. The Rector of the College was elected to go in the name of the town to inform him of the matter; but for very good reasons he prudently declined the delicate mission. When, however, the people began to urge particular reasons he gave place to the common good. The Father embarked in a transport ship ready to face the dangers of the sea, and of the enemy who were not far off, for the service of God and the King and his country. As a matter of fact he did not escape the enemy, for when the sailors thought they had successfully escaped the Batavian ships, one of them came in view. It was a vessel built for speed, and soon seized the slow and heavy-laden Portuguese ship. The Rector was taken prisoner along with the rest of the crew, and rumour hath it—and rumour is always reliable when there is question of a calamity—that he died. Happy captivity which liberty envies! Happy death longer than a long life!

If in this sudden mutiny the Society showed its influence over warlike natures, it showed it not less by starting for the soldiers a Confraternity dedicated to the Apostle of the East. Here piety triumphs over military passion, which is of all the least prone to piety. The whole town is in admiration to see the highest military chiefs setting the example to the soldiers by enrolling themselves in this sacred militia. On the solemn feasts of the year, they purify their souls from sin. A weekly votive Mass is said in honour of their patron, and some members are appointed to attend with lighted candles in their hands. This pious exercise they perform also on the feast days of the College in order to prove that they are our Lord's soldiers.

They wear a white uniform with a purple head-gear to show that they unite piety with a warlike spirit. They assist at Mass with swords at their sides, to show that virtue is compatible with the use of the sword, and to profess at the same time their readiness to defend their faith as well as their king. They take part in the Lenten processions wearing the badge of their Confraternity, nor do the highest officials think it unbecoming to carry the Cross and the torches in these processions. What is most marvellous of all is that the principal work of this Confraternity is to give decent burial to their fallen fellow soldiers, thus inverting the soldiers' trade, which is to kill rather than to bury. Here, indeed, one may see for the first time a pious soldiery and devout soldiers.

I should now speak of the Residences attached to the College, but out of the eight we had before, five had to be given up on account of the war, and even in the remaining three the work is so far not free from danger to the Fathers, and fear has driven the inhabitants away. But we hope that the Providence of God will as usual remedy this unhappy state of affairs, and relieve the numberless souls longing for spiritual pasture in the wilderness.

Vergampeti is assured of the protection of St. Francis Xavier. In grateful memory of that Saint we shall add to this account of the College, a few particulars regarding the Residence of Vergampeti. It is well known for the miracles of St. Francis, but either owing to the negligence of eye-witnesses, or because of their very prevalence, they are buried in oblivion. The multitudes of even the pagans who flock thither bear witness to the favours granted through the Apostle of the East. In order to bring discredit on this devotion of the people the enemy of mankind invented the following fraud. As he knows full well that women are his best weapon in his warfare against the world, he induced a woman first to secure the good opinion of the people by a show of holiness. Soon, by means of sham miracles and pretended celestial apparitions of Xavier and the Blessed Virgin, she so disturbed the minds of the unwary people that they were soon divided in their opinion. Some saw a proof of the miracles in her virtue, others suspected the snares of the devil in the woman's virtue and miracles. The matter soon became a grave scandal, which would have gone on increasing more and more had not the woman been found out and sent away, thanks to an unexpected visit and prudent inquiries of the Rector.

I must not pass over in silence our brethren who are prisoners in Candia. Their conduct and well-known virtues have won for them the respect and esteem of the pagan king himself. They are even considered to be of great use to the town of Colombo, in as much as at their request the king often desists from making armed incursions and from intercepting the supplies of the town. A youth of Jafanapatam, who is in the service of the Fathers, gave a noble example of the teaching and formation he received from the Fathers. With blandishments and promises the king himself tried to induce him to abandon his beads, but he remained firm, boldly asserting that they were the marks of his religion and that he would neither part with them as long as he lived. Further, when the tyrant pressed him to come and serve him in the royal palace, the youth spurned the favour, saying that he would never of his own accord abandon the Fathers, with whom he preferred to die rather than live in safety in the midst of the pleasures of the Court. The King himself admired the young man's loyalty, (*apud hostes scilicet, parit etiam admirationem constantia, praeclat habetur virtus.*)

Ex India Orientali.^{***}

[Goa, 8 May, 1558, To the Very Rev. Father General.]

The business which I once proposed to your Reverence can not in my opinion be carried out, for the Hollanders (with whom we fought often at sea this year within sight of our forts, with equal forces, it is true, but with unequal success, since ours were unsuccessful), after taking the

island of Ceilan, captured Manar and Jafanapatam. Moreover, with the consent of the Naique or Kinglet of Madure, they also captured Tutucurin, and consequently the whole of the Fishery Coast, driving out Ours. We are told that they will without doubt come next autumn with a large fleet, as we have been warned, to attack the chief fort of Marmugonam, and in all probability they will succeed in taking it without great difficulty. When that is taken neither this town nor the rest of this *Conquista* can be long defended, especially, as seems likely from many indications, if the Moorish King Jelalcannus, who is an ally of these heretics, will wage war on us by land or intercept the supplies without which we can not hold out.

It is my misfortune to have to live in India at a time when it is almost at its last gasp. When I thought I should be able to do something for the service of God and the Society, I see my plans melting away like the business of a bankrupt (*instaur negotiationis deoctorum cedentium foro*). But may God be ever blessed.

[22nd January, 1659. Father Francis Baretto to the Rev. Father General.]

After a lengthy narration of the misfortunes of the Province and the losses inflicted by the Hollanders by the capture of the Fishery Coast, Manar, Negapatam and the Kingdom of Jafanapatam—where there were more than 100,000 Christians, and twelve priests of the Society, who were all forthwith expelled and heretical preachers posted in their places, he adds: They say the Hollanders are going to attack Cochin and afterwards Goa, thus to conquer the whole of India to the destruction of the Missions and the overthrow of the Portuguese, and to get possession of all that the King of Portugal had in India. They have indeed seized the best opportunity for it, since, owing to the war between the kingdoms of Spain and Portugal, no assistance can be sent from Portugal to enable them to resist the fury of the Hollanders.

Thus our Province and its missions are wholly destroyed and extinct. God grant that Goa at least may be spared for us as a refuge for our Fathers and Brothers, for they can not be maintained in the College of Cochin which is poor and in debt. Such, Very Reverend Father, is the plight of these parts; I, therefore, beg Your Reverence for permission to pass over to the Province of Japan, as this Province has now no mission in which I can labour. I have for a long time cherished the desire of ending my days with our illustrious brothers, sharing the chains and torments of Japan.

[18th June, 1659. Father Giraldi Rocha to Father Barreto.]

Confirms what has been said of the defeats inflicted by the Hollanders, and their occupation and destruction of nine Colleges. Although he wrote two letters this year on two different occasions, in none of them does he ask recruits from Europe.

6th October, 1659.

I am here *ad sarcinas*, and if God does not stretch His hand to save these Missions I shall have to die of doing nothing. But such is the will of God, which is my only consolation. I say, and I have heard it often from others, that if we in Europe knew what is being done here, and the Procurators had told us the truth, very few indeed, I fancy, would come here. For truly in Europe all things are better done than here, excepting the laborious missions of many fervent labourers in different parts; and in this region only one. (7)

[28th Nov., 1658. Father Francis Baretto.]

28th Nov., 1658 (and 10th April, 1659.)

Our Society has practically lost the whole of this Province. The Colleges of Colombo, Jafanapatam and Negapatam, with all the Residences in which innumerable Christians were looked after, are all captured. We have also lost the mission and the whole of the Fishery. Such is the plight of Christianity in the East and such the fate of the Province of Malabar. I am afraid all the missions of the East will be ruined completely.

Of our Province there only remain the Colleges of S. Thoma and Cochin with the neighbouring Colleges of Coulan and Cranganore, which are not safe either. They fear manifest and speedy danger. Meanwhile the trouble and expense of sending subjects to this Province must be avoided.

The same thing is repeated in a letter of the 10th April.

The End.

ANTIQUITIES IN THE SOUTHERN PROVINCE.

DIARY OF THE LATE MR. E. R. AYRTON.

(*Archaeological Commissioner of Ceylon.*)

WITH NOTES BY JOHN M. SENAVERATNE.

[**FOREWORD:** Mr. E. R. Ayrton, late Archaeological Commissioner of Ceylon, started from Anurádhapura on the 16th February, 1914, on a tour in the Southern Province from which, however, he was destined never to return. He died, by drowning, in the Tissa-veva, near Hambantota, on the 17th May, 1914, exactly three months after his tour began.

What he did during those three months, however, is not lost to us, for he kept a full and careful record of his activities in a *Diary* which, quite apart from the pathetic interest attached to it as being his last written work, is valuable alike for his lucid and graphic description of the places and institutions which he visited as for the scholarly notes and observations, drawn from the stores of his learning, which he found occasion to write down in connection with each. The last entry in the *Diary* is dated "16-5-14," the day previous to the sad accident which terminated a promising career and deprived Ceylon of a scholar whose place in the Archaeological Survey Department has not yet been filled.

The *Diary*, with its illustrations, drawings etc., runs into 83 closely written pages of foolscap. The present instalment covers only 15 pages of the original. The remainder will appear regularly, in successive issues of the *Ceylon Antiquary*. The publication of the *Diary* in this manner has been rendered possible through the good offices of the late Colonial Secretary of Ceylon, Sir Reginald E. Stubbs, K.C.M.G., (now Governor of Hongkong) and of Mr. John Scott, C.C.S., till lately Principal Assistant Colonial Secretary.

JOHN M. SENAVERATNE.

THE DIARY.

16-2-14. Left Anurádhapura by early morning train 7-20 a.m. with Mr. Fernando, Mr. Steven, Johnson Overseer, 6 coolies and 3 servants. Arrived Colombo 2 p.m. Went to G. O. H. instructing Mr. F. and S. to call at G.O.H. at 8 a.m. following morning. Shopping. Told Cook's to despatch tents at once to Alutgama.

17-2-14—Mr. F. turned up at 8 a.m. but Mr. S. did not come till after 9 a.m. and then did not bring the camera. Ordered 15 dozen $\frac{1}{2}$ plates and 5 dozen full (Empress) to be sent to G. O. H. Mr. S. to see about camera and to join Mr. F. next day and go to Alutgama by 3-20 train.

18-2-14. Caught 3-20 to Alutgama. Mr. F. also came by same train, but Mr. S. arrived 2 minutes before train started and said that he had not labelled the camera or anything and would come by later train.

Arrived Alutgama and picked up stores but no tents.

Telegram from Mr. Steven saying that he was sick and could not come (8 p.m.). Camera came by messenger at 9-30 p.m. and letter and medical certificate.

Wrote to Mudaliyar and President of Village Tribunals to call (T1 and T2) but both away till Monday.

19-2-14.—Telegraphed to Mr. S. to ask definitely when he would come. Wire from Mr. S. to say coming today. Arrived by afternoon train.

GALAPÁTA VIHÁRE.

20-2-14.—Went out to *Galapáta Vihāre* with Mr. F. and Mr. S.

Mr. F. took 2 squeezes of the rock *sannas* of Parākrama Báhu III.

Mr. S. photoed the *sannas*, the upper rock steps, the old stone gateway, old moonstone, *dāgaba*, group of priests and *pansala*.

Mr. F. made sketch plan of premises.

Had long talk with the Head Priest and heard the history of the place.

Vihāre of the Malwatte priesthood, about 3 miles from Bentota.

There are two *pilima-gés* each with its own *pansala*, each under the charge of a monk.

The name of the High Priest is the *Very Reverend Ananda Dharmadarsa Sri Saranankara*, Principal Priest of Sailantayatana Oriental College, Galapátaucharaya, Bentota. There is a *dāgaba* attached to the group. The High Priest has been a priest here for 36 years and High Priest for 16 years.

Tradition.—The High Priest said that there is a poem (*Kāvya*) called the *Dharmawattāja Jātaka* which gives a short description of this Vihāre. No copy of this book (nor any other ancient manuscript) exists at the Vihāre now. From this poem it appears that the Tooth-relic of the Venerable Mahākassapa Thera had reached Ceylon from India and was in Anurādhapura. A certain Arahāt at Anurādhapura obtained possession of the Tooth and brought it to this spot and concealed it. (Popular tradition points out a large slab of granite, the top perhaps of a flower-altar, as being the vehicle on which the Saint flew from Anurādhapura to Galapáta). King Duttagamini, hearing of this Tooth, sent Saddhatissa to erect a *dāgaba* for it. This is said to be the present *dāgaba* (which has more lately been enlarged by the priests). The priest said that Parākrama Báhu I had sent offerings, and that Kirti Nissanka Malla had done the same and granted a coconut garden reaching from Bentota to the Kalu-ganga to the Vihāre. Also Parākrama Báhu II sent offerings.

Here the *Mahāvamsa* helps us (*Wijesingha, Trans. LXXXV*, 82-84), for it says of Parākrama Báhu II. (A. D. 1240-1275): "And when he heard that there was but one relic of the Tooth left of that son of Buddha, the elder Mahākassapa, and that, in times past, had reached Tambapanni in due course, and was yet preserved in Bhimatittha Vihāra in the district of Pañcayojana, this King conceived a strong love and regard unto the Elder who had the charge thereof, and proceeded to that great Vihāra with his four-fold army. And it rejoiced him to see the noble relic that was there, insomuch that he reverently kept up a feast of relics for three days with sweet-smelling flowers of divers kinds in great plenty, and lamps, incense, and food in great abundance."

(*LXXXVI*, 4.16-17). Later he sent his general Dēvapātirāja and commanded him to restore certain buildings in the Island. "And at the Bhimatittha vihāra, where the King Nissanka planted an orchard, do thou likewise, in my name, lay out a large garden full of coconut and other fruitful trees."

(LXXVI. 40): "And this great minister proceeded to the port of Bhimatittha. And there he built a bridge, 86 cubits' span, at the mouth of the Kālanadi river (*Kala-ganga*); one of about 100 *yatthis*' span at the village Kadaliseṇa (*Kehelsen. Kehel-ṣeṇāva* ?); one of 40 *yatthis*' span over the Sālaggāma river (*Salgam-ganga*), and one of 50 cubits' span over the Sālapādapa (*Satrak*) river. Thus did he build these and other bridges at divers places where it was difficult to cross over; and likewise also he made numerous gardens and halls for preaching and the like, and did even give away much alms and hold feasts (in connection therewith). Afterwards this great Minister of the King formed a large coconut garden, full of fruit and fine shade, and gave it the famous name of Parākkama Bāhu; and it extended from the Bhimatittha vihāra unto the ford of the Kālanadi, a space of one *yojana* in width. And as he was an exceedingly liberal man he held a great feast."

Beyond these references there seems to be no more about this Vihāra in the *Mahāvamsa*.

The *Pūjāvaliya*, however, which was composed at the request of Dēva Pratiṛāja himself, naturally gives us more data for the reign of Pandita Parākrama Bāhu II (1309 A.D.) (B. Guna-sēkara. *Pūjāvaliya* extract, p. 40).

"Furthermore, having heard that the 'tooth-relic' of the great Sthavira Mahā Kāsyapa, follower of the Buddha, . . . would in due course rest in Lankā, and that it was then lying in the tooth-relic house at Bentota, he was much pleased with it; went to Bentota in great state with his fourfold army; saw it there; was elated with joy; caused strips of tender coconut leaves to be placed round the district; made offerings of rice, flowers, and scents for three nights and days; and accumulated merit by great lamp offerings."

He, on his return, gave an order to his minister named Dēva Pratiṛāja: "Moreover, plant at Bentota a garden in my name too, as King Nissanka planted one there in his name." The minister reached Bentota, "constructed a large bridge of 86 cubits at Kalahōmuvadora; a large bridge of 500 cubits at Kehelṣeṇāva; a large bridge of 200 cubits at Salgam-hoya; a bridge of 150 cubits at Salgas-hoya. In these inaccessible places he caused many wooden bridges to be made . . . caused to be planted a tope of coconut trees, Parākrama Bāhu by name, thickly planted at a distance of one *yodana* from Kalutota to Bentota . . ."

Description: The vihāra is built on a high platform built up round a rocky knoll with high rude stone retaining walls. It has been added to recently on the East by the present High Priest who is engaged in adding rooms on that side of his *pīlma-gē*. Before the ascent stand the remains of a square porch originally roofed on four rough stone pillars and probably forming a regular *mura-gē*; this stood on a raised stone-faced platform and was ascended by a short flight of rough steps and plain rough moonstone. Beyond this a long flight of stone steps, provided with a similar moonstone, leads up on to the first platform.

On the right or north side of this, on a ridge of rock, is cut a long inscription of Parākrama Bāhu II, in tolerable condition considering the rain-drops from the trees alone to which it has been subjected. I understand from the High-Priest that care is taken to prevent people from walking over it. On the east side a hollow allows water to drain over the end of the inscription and is slowly obliterating the bottom lines. The inscription was evidently found to be longer than the space prepared for it, and overlaps the prepared raised surface on this side.

Steps of rough stone lead up on the west side of the first terrace to a large *pansala*; and on the south old rock-cut steps, probably marking the original steps to the vihāra, lead on to the upper terrace. By these steps is a small rock-cut *pokuna* with rock-cut steps leading to it.

On the upper terrace stand the buildings. Immediately in front is a large *pīlma-gē*, said by the priest to have been built at about 1750 A.D. It has been built on the site of an older building and overlaps the site marked out by the two stone pillars at each corner. These pillars are at an angle and each bears a rude flower-vase (?) on top. The larger one is nearer the building.

The base of the building outside is decorated with a stucco frieze of elephants strolling round the building, whilst the front is decorated with stucco relief over the doorway of two stags on each side of a tree culminating in two lions on each side of a Kailasa.

The interior is divided into two parts by a partition wall pierced with two entrances over which are *Makara toranas* and gods in raised stucco relief. Four wooden pillars support the roof. The whole room is painted with scenes, and along the east wall are tall standing Buddhas in brick and stucco. Two bronze images, one certainly ancient, and an old bronze ewer stand in this room.

In the further room against the south wall, with head to the east, lies an immense Buddha made of brick and stucco. Against the east wall are a seated and a standing Buddha, whilst in the north-west corner is a standing statue of the god Vishnu.

The doorway within the porch is of painted wood and shows a creeper issuing from a part-bird part-female figure¹ in the curves of which are tumblers and dancers. This design seems to have been copied from the old stone gateway lying near.

The *pansala* of this *pīṭima-gé* is that abutting on the first terrace, and by the courtesy of the priest in charge I was able to photograph the bronzes belonging to it.

To the east of the *pīṭima-gé* is a square single-room building, erected about 10 years ago, which is used as a sleeping place for the priests. It is built on an old site, the demarcating pillars two at each corner and two at the centre of each side still remain, and the old doorway is still *in situ* before the wooden door.

To the south of this is a long building on a raised platform reached by steps with an ancient moonstone^a at the bottom. This moonstone is of a late type and is more than a semi-circle in size; it is probably, with the balustrades which stand before the bell-pillars to the north, to be assigned to the early 14th century A.D.

In this building against the east wall is a recumbent figure of the Buddha in stucco and brick, against the south wall a seated and a standing figure. At the head of the long figure is a small *dāgaba* and Vishnu, standing, occupies the north-west corner. The interior is brightly painted and another entrance leads out to the north, where a large bluish-coloured *dāgaba* stands.

This is the *dāgaba* said to have been erected over the tooth-relic of Mahā Kāsyapa Thera. Opposite the building is the *pansala* of the chief priest.

The *dāgaba* stands on a built platform which projects out to the north. The parapet is crowned with upright round columns of a great height.

Between this and the last mentioned *pīṭima-gé* lie the frames of two wooden stone doorways, a wooden moonstone, two old balustrades decorated with a floral pattern down the front and an ancient doorframe complete with its threshold. This last is a very fine piece of work. It is cut in hard granite yet often the figures are entirely undercut. Up the sides and along the top runs floral scroll-work which rises from the heads of two female figures, with bird's feet and tails but a woman's body from the thighs up.¹ In the circles formed by the scrolls are carved weird human figures, dancers, tumblers and musicians of both sexes. Although this

1. This is what is known locally as the *Lada Kinnara*. J. M. S.

is said to date from the time of Duttagāmini, yet from the resemblance of the work to that at Yāpahuwa (founded at the end of the 13th century), it is most probable that it belongs to the Vihāre which we may assume was built by Parākrama Bāhu II in the middle of the 13th century.

The front of the threshold is decorated with a lion's head from which floral scrolls run in both directions. On top are slots for the door-jambs and holes for the door pivots. The High Priest declares his intention of setting this old doorway up for a new building; this, if carefully done, will certainly be far preferable to its present fate where rain falls on it and it is perhaps walked over, whilst dirt from the roof alone falls also on it. One of its figures has anciently been broken and replaced with mortar.

Advised Work.—A slight ridge of cement to carry off the water from the Parākrama Bāhu II sannas.

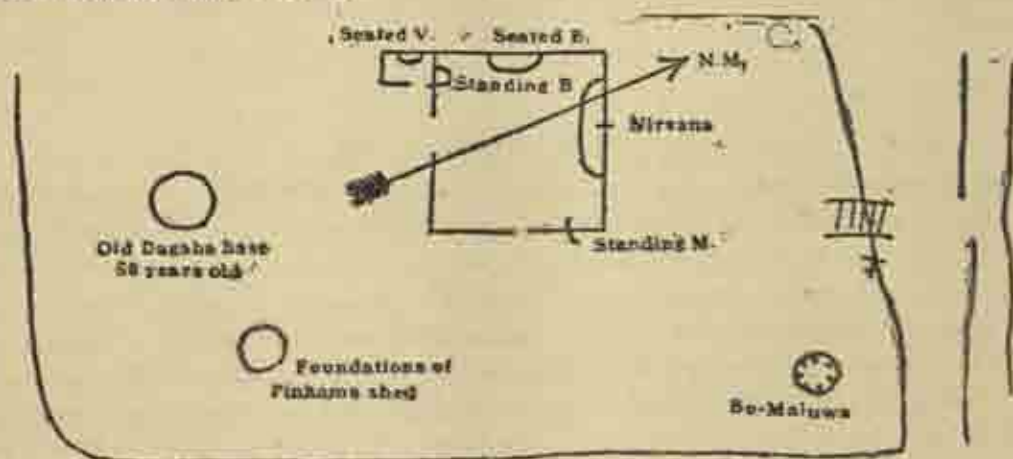
[Müller. *A. I. C.* No. 165. Inscription "account of the repairs which King Parākrama Bāhu of Dambadeniya executed at this temple, having heard that the *dāgaba* attached to it contained a relic of Mahā Kassapa the first hierarch of Buddhism."]

21.2.14.—Went out with Mr. F. and S. at 8 a.m. by bandy to

GANE VIHARA (Dope Village).

The old name is *Ben Vihāre*, at Dope, about 1½ miles south of Bentota.

On a raised platform of *kabuk* approached by a wooden flight of steps from the road is a wooden image-house, an old door threshold with socket holes before its entrance, it was built six years ago, still being painted. The shrine is a large seated statue of Buddha of stucco, a recumbent one, a standing one and a standing image of Maitreya. In a smaller room attached on the east is a seated figure of Vishnu.



The old *dāgaba* base is of crude stone, only 2 feet high and only 50 years old according to the priest.

The *Bo-maluwa* is octagonal with (only one remains) pillars on the corners and lamp triangles let into the sides.

The old *Bo*-tree died 20 years ago, according to (an) old villager, and a large *Pallof* tree now grows here sheltering a small *Bo-gaha* which is springing up on the platform. Platform recently done up and decayed again. The old Vihāre is said to have been founded in Duttagāmini's time and to have been restored about 40 years ago by the Bentara villagers.

The High Priest is Atadassa Unnanse, and does not know anything about this Vihāre.

The modern vihare of three buildings stands on the lower ground to the East.

Siamese priests, 2 shoulders covered.

Photoed the *Bô-maluwa*.

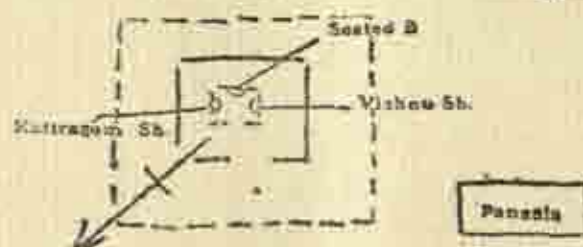
Advice—Nothing to be done here.

Went on to

BODHI-MALUWA VIHARE,

and village, on the south bank of the Bentota-ganga.

The Vihāre is entirely wooden and shows no sign of ancient buildings. In the shrine not yet finished are a seated Buddha, standing Vishnu and the Katragam God.



New *Bô*-tree planted 50 years ago with quite new *maluwa*. Only a new bronze Buddha statuette and two small crude ivory standing Buddhas.

A priest from here restored Galapāta 100 years ago.

The High Priest, Sonuttara Unnanse, has been here for 39 years and is Siamese, covering the 2 shoulders. Malwatte.

Went to the

WANAWASA MAHA VIHARE,

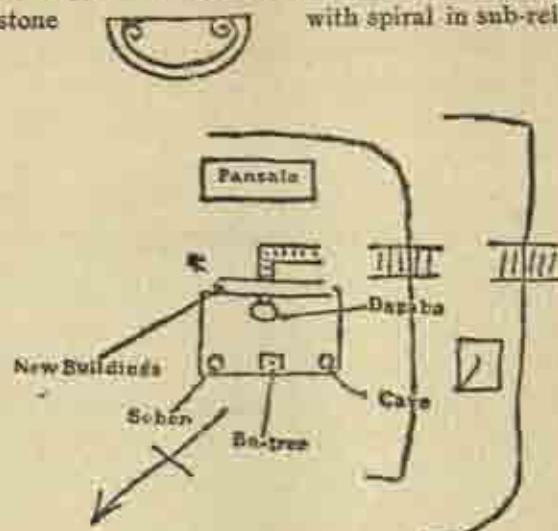
now called *Pandita Ratna Pirivena*.

Series of three terraces decreasing in size, faced with rough stone or *cabuk*. On the two lower terraces are the modern *pansalas*. The second is built within four stone corner posts marking consecrated ground. On the very top, a natural *cabuk* hill, stands a *dāgaba* containing *sarira dhātu* of the Buddha. This *dāgaba* is supposed to have been erected by Bentara Attadassa, the High Priest here, who died 60 years ago and is buried in a small *sohona* by the *dāgaba*. Round the *dāgaba* are modern buildings in process of erection. The altar was built in B.V. 2445. A hole dug by the priests struck an older gravel pit below; in it were found fragments of an old pottery pinnacle.

The present High Priest, Bentara Soma Ananda, is paralysed and the acting High Priest is P. Somāṅkāra of Kotté, and affiliated to the Malwatte priesthood. One shoulder covered, Siamese.

Pandita Parākrama Bāhu founded the Vihāre and other later Kings added to it, also Dharma Parākrama Bāhu of Kotté. The High Priesthood goes in succession to members of this school.

It is difficult to suggest an age for any part of the place. At the foot of the lowest flight of steps is a moostone with spiral in sub-relief.



Wanawāsa Vihāre is mentioned in the *Tissara Sandesa*, which says that Buddha founded it for the wicked people of Bentota; also in the *Parevi Sandesa*² and in the *Giri Sandesa* (v. 100) where people are told to worship there.

Childers is said to have studied here and there are several *Bana* books done up in cloth. Some old statuettes are kept in a cupboard, but the key was with the High Priest when I called, and so could not see them.

Visited from Bentota

| | | |
|--|--------------|-----------------------|
| Galapāta Vihāre. | Hungantota. | 1913 list. 1887 list, |
| Wanawāsa Vihāre. | Yatramulla. | 1913.— |
| Ganē Vihāre | Dope. | Not in lists. |
| Bōdhimaluwa Vihāre. | Bōdhimaluwa. | Not in lists. |
| Ganēgoda Vihāre of 1887 list cannot be discovered. | | |

22.2.14.—Sunday. At Bentota. Motored out to Galapāta Vihāre with the Griffiths and to Ambalangoda for lunch. Met Garne, dentist of Bristol Hotel.

23.2.14.—Sent off 3 boxes to Galle and left for Kosgoda 9.30 a.m. Arrived Kosgoda, saw Vidane Aracchi, left tents &c., at Station and went out to Uragasmanhandiya R. H. on road to Elpitiya. Possible motor road 4 m. from Station. Hear that the only remains are at Gangoda 8 m. off. There is said to have been an old *dāgaba* of the time of Alakesvara at a place Atajiri some 24 m. off. This existed 20 years ago but is now paddy field and nothing remains. Quantities of brick were removed. Attended to Tappal

24.2.14.—Sent on Mr. F. and S. by bandy and followed on bicycle from 3½ to 10½ (7 miles) eastwards on a fairly good minor road, possible for motor (the Ellepitiya Road), then cut across paddy fields and over hills (just past 10th mile stone) to the northward on to the minor road from the Bentota ganga to the

GANĒGODA VIHĀRE

situated on this road.

In the 1887 list (p. 30), Ganēgoda Viḥāre is mentioned as having a Rock inscription. It was abandoned and there were rock inscriptions and Nāgara characters and fragments of the old *dāgaba*, which is said to have been built by Parākrama Bāhu III.

From a villager I learnt that in 1871 his father found the place under jungle and broke into the ruined base of the *dāgaba*, finding a small brick lined chamber (2 ft. square) from which he took 12 bronze and one bronze gilt images. Two of these were large and 1½ feet long. There had been a huge cobra in the jungle guarding the treasure and when the man removed them to his house the cobra went there with him. His family then left him. The man then brought the images back and a temporary *dāgaba* was erected over them and the cobra took up its abode near by.

In the same year the High Priest Abhaya Tissa from Karadeniya erected the present *dāgaba* and the *pansala*. (He was born at Omatta and died at Balapitiya in 1896 on 26th May at the ripe age of 77. An excellent, almost ½ life size, photo portrait of him is kept at the *pansala*). He was permanent High Priest of Karadeniya Pansala, 3 miles from Ambalangoda, and when he came he removed all the old pillars and reused them for the *dāgaba* and buried the inscription in the *dāgaba*.

The present incumbent here is Suvana Ananda of Maligakanda College, Colombo; of the Amarapura Burmese Society. Two shoulders.*

There is only a modern *Pansala* at Karadeniya.

At Balapitiya, near the P.M.'s Bungalow, were ruins but they have been broken up entirely for the roads. There was a relic, a piece of bone, wrapped in gold leaf on the head of the gilt Buddha.

The Viḥāre consists of a raised platform by the side of the road; approached by a flight of steps from a cleared compound below in which stand priests' dwelling-houses. (There is also a Bō tree from Anurādhapura seeds). On the platform stand the *dāgaba*, a large *pansala* and a small shed. The *pansala* is full of the usual stucco statues and is crudely painted.

Near the *dāgaba* sunk in the ground (raised for us) is the lower part of an inscription pillar: on one side is engraved an open hand and on the other a mirror, bow, and dog. The top with the inscription had been stolen. We were shown a small crude bronze figure of Buddha which had been ploughed up in the fields near by, otherwise the Viḥāre was destitute of old images.

When the Viḥāre was restored it was said that there was only a jungle path before its gate instead of the present excellent minor road.

As, however, the list of 1887 speaks of it as abandoned, it is probable that the story of the restoration of 1871 is a mistake and that its restoration is due to the building of the present road.



Being informed that there was a *Gal'ge* or cave with an inscription on a small hill two miles back along the minor road south and then n.w. by footpath two miles more, we went

* That is, both shoulders covered. J. M. S.

out to see and after cutting our way up the hillside found only a natural rock shelter with so rough a floor that it had apparently never been used; all we got was a good view of the co.

25.2.14 W.—Returned to Kosgoda and, taking the (Galle) road northward towards Bentota to near the 44th mile-post, branched off on *pin-pāra* to east for about 2 miles to

MALMADUWA-HANDA VIHARE.

where there was reported to be an inscription.

There is a high outcrop or rock (granite) with a long slope relieved by a few rock-cut steps at one point. On the top are built two *dāgabas* and a *pansala*, with priest's house on a lower platform. The platform is artificially retained in places.

The High Priest for the last 20 years is Yālegama Saranankara Terunnāse, Siamese, Malwatte, 2 shoulders since the time of Sri Sumangala.

He knows nothing of the traditions of the place, but considers that Pratiśāra Kumāra built the *dāgabas* over relics of Buddha.

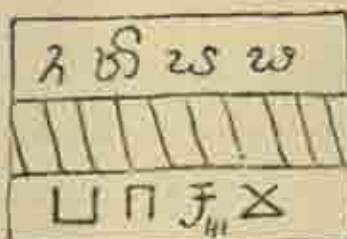
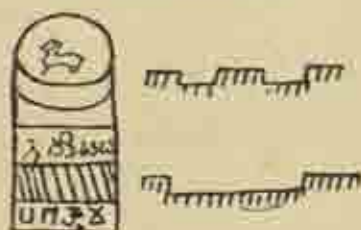
The *dāgabas* are of the usual rather pointed type. The *Pansala* is modern (built in 1896, Saka 1818) and was erected on the site of the former *pansala* which was simply a mud hut.

Against the south wall is the *nirwana* (only 17' long). On the east are seated and standing Buddhas and Maitreya, all in stucco.

In a small separate room on the east is a standing stucco image of Vishnu, with on his left, painted on wall, Nata and Vibhisana, and on his right Kattragam and Dadhimunda.

On the west just off the platform, but on the top of the rock rises a boulder 9 feet high; under the west face of this was a convenient place for shelter, and here there has been cut a hare in the moon with an inscription in Sinhalese and Sanskrit in a cut-out square below.

The inscriptions reads



Behold the hare!

Parākrama

The Sanskrit letters are the same as those used on the coins of the Parākrama Kings of the XIIth. century A.D. and later, and it is possible that there may have been a Vihare here at Parākrama Bāhu II's time.

The priest says that the name of Induruwa, which is near here on the coast, arises from the fact that a Chandra or moon is cut on one of the rocks in the sea off that place (*handagala*).

Mr. F. went to see an inscription reported a quarter of a mile from Kosgoda but found that it was an 18th century one in memory of some Rālahāmi.

Just outside Kosgoda on the road to Urugala one passes a small wooden Vihare with a *dāgaba* and Bō-tree.

Went on to Hikkaduwa and out to the Rest House on the sea-coast (bad bathing, very deep and rocky) $\frac{1}{2}$ mile south of the station.

(To be continued.)

Notes & Queries.

USES OF ROSARIES AND COMBS.

By G. HUNTLEY.

CAN any reader of the *Ceylon Antiquary* favour me with any information concerning the uses of rosaries among the people of Ceylon—the materials they are made of, their meanings, their uses for prayer or magic. I particularly wish to know about the Mohammedan knot, the bracelet, "coconut rosaries" if any.

Further, have combs any peculiar purpose among the Sinhalese? Have they any writings as charms upon them?

Lastly, is there any example of the worship of the Placenta in Ceylon: if so, what are the rites? I shall be very grateful for any information on the above points.

QUERIES ABOUT THE PEARL.

By S. G. P.

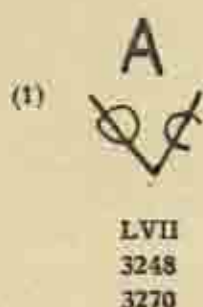
CAN any reader of the *Ceylon Antiquary* answer the following:—

1. What is the Sinhalese idea of the origin of the pearl?
Any legend or myth? Derived from rain-drop or dew-drop, or sunlight?
2. Is the technical word "*orient*" used in valuating pearls?
3. Metaphorical uses of pearl, e. g. in proverbs?
4. Is Pearl much used as a personal name? Are jewel-names especially appropriated to any special class of persons?
5. Names of the pearl? Etymologies? Does the generic name for gem, jewel, also connote the pearl specifically; or conversely, is the specific name for pearl generalised to mean jewel?
- Are there pink pearls? Are they precious?
7. Any legends of the pearls guarded by dragons etc.?

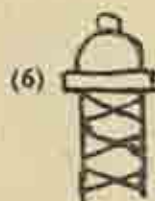
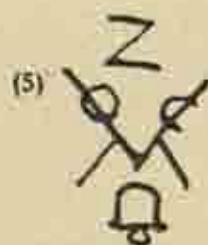
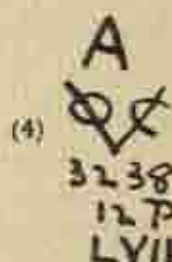
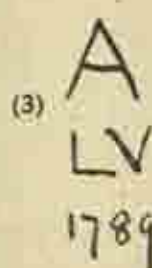
DUTCH CANNON IN CEYLON.

By J. P. LEWIS, C.M.G., C.C.S. (Retired.)

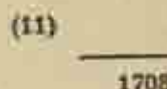
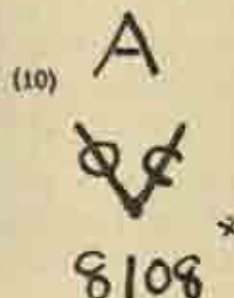
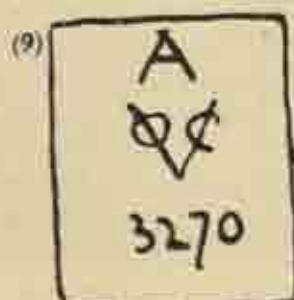
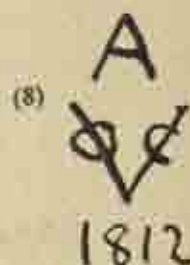
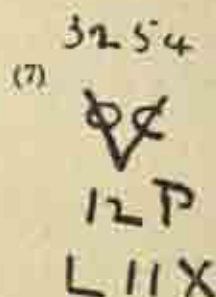
THERE are a good many old Dutch cannon still lying about on the ramparts of the Fort at Jaffna, some of which have been fixed into the ground end on to serve as supports for the ropes that were attached to the flagstaff. I once took the trouble to examine these for dates and foundry marks, with the following results:—



(2) 7398
CARRON
1789



3122 A
N2 XXI



I counted 33 Dutch "pieces of ordnance" in the Fort but the marks on the others were not legible.

* Perhaps 1108, which would be more in accordance with the numbers in the others.

There is also just inside the gate a small English brass cannon with the mark of the East India Company :



and the words

W. KINMAN FECIT

and date

1780

At Trincomalee I found five English cannon of the time of George III. and two Dutch, one with the letter A and the other with Z, in each case over the monogram of the Dutch East India Company. There must, I think, be others that I did not come across.

Of the marks on the Dutch cannon, the capital letters A and Z stand respectively for "de Kamer van Amsterdam," "de Kamer van Zeeland," where the cannon came from. "CARRON" on another is, I suppose, the name of the foundry. There will also be noticed figures of a bell and of a cannon, the former on the Zeeland specimen at Jaffna and the latter from Amsterdam.

EARLY BRITISH TIMES.

By C. HAYAVADANA RAO, B.A., B.L.

UNDER the above heading Mr. J. P. Lewis, C.M.G., C.C.S. (Retd) has some interesting notes in the *Ceylon Antiquary* for January 1920 (Vol. V. Pt. III.) on Madras Officers who served in Ceylon in the 18th and early 19th centuries. At the end of his contribution he suggests that some Madras writer to the *Ceylon Antiquary* should furnish additional information in regard to them. Before giving this, I would state that the conclusion arrived at by him in regard to the Ceylon Fishery rents of 1797 and 1798 is a just one. In view of the criticism that has been offered by Mr. L. J. B. Turner, M.A., C.C.S., in recent articles in the *Antiquary* (Vol. IV.) in regard to Mr. Andrews' conduct over this affair, it is satisfactory to note Mr. Lewis' opinion on it. "There was nothing in this episode," he says, "or in the management of the Fishery to throw discredit on either Andrews or Alexander." I entirely agree in this view of the matter as already indicated in my article in the *Antiquary* (Vol. IV, Pt. 4.)

Mr. Lewis mentions principally three or four officers in his article and to these I shall refer in the order he has done.

Edward Atkinson.—Princep gives the following sketch of this officer's career :—1783, Writer ; 1785, Assistant to the Secretary of the Select Committee ; 1786, Assistant to the Secretary in the Military Department ; 1787, Clerk to the Court of Requests and under the Secretary in the Secret Department ; 1788, Secretary to the Hospital Board ; 1789, Muster-Master of troops on the

Guntur Circar ; 1790, Muster-Master of the Troops with the Centre Army ; 1791, Assistant to the Collector of Trichinopoly ; 1793, out of employ ; 1794, Assistant under Mr. Gregory in the Vizianagaram Zamindary ; 1796, Commissary of Provisions, with Expedition under General Stewart (? Stuart) ; 1798, Commissary of Provisions at Colombo ; 1800, *At Home*. Not traced after 1808. He became an Annuitant on the Fund in 1809 and died in England on November 5, 1826.

Mr. A. W. Gregory.—The Mr. Gregory mentioned above must be Mr. Arthur William Gregory, who entered the Madras Service as Writer in 1773 and in 1791 rose to be a Senior Merchant and Paymaster at Chicacole. In 1792, he became Second in Council at Vizagapatam. In 1795, he became in addition Collector of a Division of the Vizianagaram Zamindary. He went home finally in 1800 and was out of service in 1802. He should not be confounded with

Mr. George Gregory, who, entering service as Writer in 1793, became, in 1797, Assistant under the Commercial Resident at Ceylon. He subsequently became Deputy Commercial Resident at Ceylon and, in 1801, Acting Commercial Resident at Ceylon. He temporarily went out of service in 1803, but in 1806 returned to duty as Judge and Magistrate of Ramnad District. Between 1809 and 1821, he was judge successively at Salem, Guntur, Ganjam and Chicacole. He went home in 1824 and was out of service in 1828.

Captain Hugh Blair.—Mr. Lewis says that Edward Atkinson was succeeded by Captain Hugh Blair somewhere in February, 1800. I am at present unable to say anything about Captain Blair, but it is possible he was connected with Major Patrick Blair of the Madras Artillery, whose remains lie interred at Edilabad, on the route from Nagpur to Hyderabad. Mr. Cotton says he married Miss Jane Baillie in 1806 and died on 18th September, 1819.

Josias Du Pre Alexander—The career of this officer has been given in my article in the *Ceylon Antiquary*, (IV. p. 213). I would add to that account that he was M. P. for Old Sarum for some time after retirement from the Company's services. He was also a Director of the East India Co., from 1820 to 1839.

Robert Alexander.—This was an elder brother of Josias Du Pre Alexander. His career in the Madras service was as follows : 1790, Writer and Assistant to the Secretary to the Board of Revenue ; 1791, Assistant at Vizagapatam ; 1794, Assistant and Accountant under Mr. Chamier in the Vizianagaram Zamindary ; 1796, Assistant to the Collector in the Northern Division of Vizianagaram ; 1797, Assistant to the Resident at Ceylon ; 1798, Assistant to the Collector in the Second Division of Vizagapatam District ; 1800, Sub-Secretary to the Public, Commercial and Revenue Departments, and subsequently Collector in the First Division of the Vizagapatam District ; 1803, Judge of the Zillah of Vizagapatam ; 1806, Collector in the Zillah of Ganjam ; 1808, Second Member of the Board of Revenue ; 1812, Senior Member of the Board of Revenue ; 1814, Member of Council and President of the Board of Revenue ; 1818, *At Home* ; 21st December, 1821, Resigned the service in England. He became an Annuitant on the Fund in 1819 and died in England on July 15th, 1861.

It will be seen that, except for a brief period of a year or two, his whole service in the Madras Presidency was practically spent in the Vizagapatam District. His wife, Catherine Maria, who died on 27th December, 1804, while he was Judge at Vizagapatam, lies buried in the Old Cemetery at that place. She was but 25 years of age and the epitaph says that her death was "deeply and deservedly lamented." Mr. Julian James Cotton says¹ that Robert Alexander's

1. *List of Inscriptions on Tombs and Monuments in Madras*, 325.

first wife was Miss Williams. He married secondly Miss Grace Blacker in May, 1809, and their son, James Williams, entered the B. C. S. Whether Miss Blacker was in any way connected with Capt. William Blacker, Commandant of the 7th Battalion of the Courts Native Infantry, who lies buried in the Masulipatam Fort Cemetery² or with the more famous Col. Valentine Blacker C.B.,—the Historian of the Maharatta War (1817-1821), who was originally in the Madras Light Cavalry and afterwards Quartermaster General of the Madras Army and lies buried in the South Park Street Cemetery at Calcutta—is not known, though Mr. Cotton thinks that the Captain and the Colonel were "presumably connected."

Apparently, Robert Alexander continued in Ceylon in one capacity or another till 1799, when he should have joined the post of Collector of the Northern Divisions of Vizagapatam. If he paid another visit to Ceylon in 1804 and returned to Madras on 25th August, 1804, as mentioned by Mr. Lewis, he should have done so probably in his private capacity. For we find him in Vizagapatam as Judge, his wife dying there, as already stated, on 27th December, 1804. Mr. Lewis says he was appointed President of the Board of Revenue on 25th December, 1803. According to Princep, he became Second Member of the Board of Revenue in 1808, its Senior Member in 1810 and its President only in 1814. Indeed, Princep would have us believe that that was one of the last posts to which he was appointed, before he went home in 1818.

Before concluding I would add that the Christian names "Josias Du Pré" are strongly reminiscent of Josias Du Pré, the Governor of Madras, who was their first possessor. Du Pré belonged to a Huguenot family and became a member of the Madras Council in 1768 and ended as Governor of Madras, to which post he was appointed in 1771. There were many Huguenots in the Madras Service in the 18th Century. There are still one or two members in the Madras Civil Service who may be connected in one way or another with Josias Du Pré.

John Jervis—As regards this Officer, I have given full particulars of his career in the *Ceylon Antiquary* (Vol. IV, p. 207,) to which I would invite reference.

MR. A. O. BRODIE.

By J. P. LEWIS, C.M.G., C.C.S. (Retired.)

ALEXANDER OSWALD BRODIE, formerly of the *Ceylon Civil Service*. The following particulars of MSS appeared in the catalogue of books for sale issued by Messrs Maggs Bros. of 109, Strand, London, W.C., for December, 1910. It is to be regretted that the MSS were not purchased for the Colombo Museum Library. [I have not so far been able to discover who the purchaser was.]

Brodie was an enterprising and energetic member of the Civil Service, and "was the first to suggest legislation for providing communal cooperation for the restoration of village tanks and in paddy cultivation," says Mr. Edward Elliott, late of the same Service. Some account of him may be given in a subsequent number of the *Ceylon Antiquary*. Any particulars about him that can be furnished by readers of the *Ceylon Antiquary* would be welcome. He

contributed, to the *Journal* of the Ceylon Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, papers on the Puttalam and Nuwarakalawiya Districts, and on the Climate of the former District.

In these extracts from the catalogue, Anurádhapura has assumed the grotesque form of Andouadhapoorá," and the district of which it is the capital that of "Noowerakulawiya," "R.Dyke" of course should be "P.A.Dyke."

It appears from the description of the MSS that Brodie, like the late W. J. S. Boake, C.C.S., was in the habit of illustrating his diaries with sketches.

Manuscript.

1923. *Brodie (Alex. Oswald.)* A Collection of Interesting Papers, Journals, Letters, Diary, etc., relating to Indian Affairs Whilst Assist. Agent at Andouadhapoorá, semi-Official Letters from R. Dyke, etc., regarding Rents, Cooly Emigrants, Repairing etc. of Roads and Paths at Mannar, etc., and Statements of Opium imported; Journal of a Trip to South, East, and West Division. With illustrations. 1852. Papers relating to Inscriptions on Rocks. Contemporary copy of M. Elphinstone's (Governor of Bombay), "Description of the Country" on over 200 pp., folio, unbound. Copy of Official Diary, 1848. Trip to Pullan, 15th Dec., 1851. Own Diaries, Jan., 1845 to June, 1846, and March, 1851 to Dec., 1851. 2 Copy Books of his Own Letters. The whole forming 9 vols. thin folio, calf and sewn. Circa 1845—1852. £3 3s.

Original Manuscript.

1924. Commonplace Book made whilst in India. MS. with numerous drawings, one section of which consists of Natural History dealing with the Fish of the country, containing upwards of 23 drawings of various kinds of Fish, and in one case a portion of the actual scales are preserved. This Natural History Section occupies over 100 pp. Folio, half calf. Circa 1850. £3 3s.

1925. A Manuscript Journal, with Pen and Ink Sketches, relating to various interesting Indian Matters, on upwards of 250 pp., by Alex. Oswald Brodie. Folio, orig boards, roan back, Circa 1860. £3 3s.

Includes :—Notes on Conversations with Buddhist Priest, Cotton Cultivation in Noowerakuliwiya; Remarks on Rivers in Western Part of Noowerakulawiya; Words of Ceylon; Conjuring Enchantments; Geology; Notice of various Rock Inscriptions in the North Western Province; Journal of Natural History (this occupies about 115 pp., and includes Fishes, Reptiliae, Birds, Botany, etc.)

Mr. Brodie was Assist. Government Agent for Noowerakulawiya.

Literary Register.

THE KANDYAN PENSIONERS OR THE LAST SCIONS OF SINHALESE ROYALTY.

HISTORY OF THE PENSIONS.

Causes of Their Origin.

(Continued from Vol. V, Page 217.)

III.—Measures Proposed for Adoption.

WITH reference to the steps which might now be taken for the amelioration of the condition of these pensioners, I would first beg attention to the two lists appended, (see Appendix) in which are shewn the names, age, condition, descent, and other particulars respecting each pensioner. No. 1 includes those only who have any real claim to be considered relatives of the ex-royal family; while in No. 2 will be found the same information (when procurable) respecting a number of individuals whose only claims on the Ceylon Government are, 1st, that they are still prohibited from returning to Ceylon (this, however, is merely a claim in theory, for none of them have any wish to come back here), and 2nd, that through a want of supervision over these pensions, they have been continued to persons who have no claim on the Government, other than a sort of vested right which lapse of time may be considered to have conferred upon them. On no other grounds can I see any reason why the Ceylon taxpayer should contribute to the support of Narainasamy, the head constable at Negapatam, who can boast of no relationship to the Kandyan dynasty; nor of Vencatascoobiah, whose father was a servant in the palace, and who is employed in a merchant's shop at Madura; nor of Panchanaden, also the son of a servant, who is a brick-layer at Tanjore.

38. Equally indefensible, except on the ground of vested right, would appear to be the number of small pensions of Rs. 2 and 3 to paddy cultivators scattered about in the villages near Madura and at Poodocottah; and while the obligation on this Government can hardly be denied to provide for families deported from Ceylon, whose former position in the Island, and connection with high-caste houses in the country to which they have been removed, render any kind of manual or agricultural labor impossible for them, they having further neither the means to buy land of their own, nor the education to enable them to embrace a profession, however humble, the case is very different with the lower class, whose ideas of some kind of connection with the Kandyan princes have been originated, as they are now being fostered, by the fact of their receiving pensions from this Government.

39. As regards the latter class, it appears to me that it would be an act of liberality on our part to adopt, with some modifications, the plan lately given effect to by the Madras Government in the case of the numerous relations of the Tanjore Raj, viz., to commute the allowances for cash payments in capital, without consulting the wishes of the pensioners, thus giving them the means of establishing themselves in an industrious calling. A pension of Rs. 1½ per mensem is of little practical value to a paddy cultivator or an assistant in a shop; whereas were that pension to be commuted at ten years' purchase, the price, Rs. 180, would enable the individual to buy a share in the field or the shop, or to pay his debts.

40. Though they had sufficient astuteness to pretend as a class that they did not wish to commute their pensions, there is little doubt that the greater number of the pensioners in receipt of small sums at Tanjore, and especially at Madras, would be glad to receive a capital payment in substitution. They either do earn a livelihood, or could if they would; and therefore, even were they to squander the money given to them, as in all probability some of them might do, finding themselves at the end of a year or two minus both capital and pension, they would still be in a position to support themselves by their labour; and would be more likely to do so satisfactorily when they had no longer the feeling of dependence on the miserable pittance to which their stipends are now reduced.

41. It should be remembered, too, that the people I am now treating of have not the claim which would rest with Sinhalese deported to a foreign country. These men were all Madras Tamils,—many by birth,—all by descent. They were sent back from a foreign Island to which they had migrated, to their own country and language:—the continuation to them of these allowances merely serves to prevent their re-absorption into their own race.

42. In considering the principle on which the allowances should be commuted, it is necessary first of all to refer to the existing regulations governing their tenure. As has been already mentioned, the present rule is, that on the death of the original grantee or first life, the pension devolves to a son either by birth or adoption, but at a rate reduced by one-third. That on the decease of this latter, or the second life, the pension again descends, but reduced by one-half. It falls in altogether on failure of the third life. For example, the original pension being Rs. 6 per month, the second life would receive 4, and the third Rs. 2, after which it would lapse.

43. Of the class of first lives, there are now remaining six who have no real claim to

Relationship with the Ex-royal Family.

They are:—

| | | | |
|--------------------|----|---------|---------------------|
| Moodookistmah | .. | aged 67 | Pension Rs. 5 0 0 |
| Mootheyaloo | .. | " 60 | " 2 8 0 |
| Rukmani Kantha | .. | " 55 | " 4 3 2 |
| Chinne Nayna Naick | .. | " 50 | " 6 13 0 |
| Kuppamanl | .. | " 60 | " 4 0 0 |
| Rajah Gopaul Naick | .. | " 60 | " 7 13 4—Rs. 30 5 6 |

Some of these ages are evidently apocryphal; they are those given by the pensioners themselves; but as the last deportation from Ceylon took place in 1816, it is evident that no one of the above can possibly be less than fifty-five years old, and that in fact they must be nearer seventy than sixty.

44. In none of these cases would I propose to commute the pension during the lifetime of the present recipients; they are too old and infirm to be likely to make any advantageous

disposal of a sum of money in capital, and as there are two succeeding generations interested in the pension, complications would certainly arise in the division of the money between the present holder, the second life who is to succeed him, and the last or third life that will not succeed till the other two have fallen in; and may very possibly die himself in the interval. But notice should be given that, on the death of each of the six above enumerated, the heir will receive, not a pension, but a fixed sum in lieu of it.

45. Nor would it be expedient, at any rate during the ex-Queen's life time, to commute the pension of one Muddalgiri, a second life, aged sixty-one, and drawing a pension of Rs. 14; he is an old retainer of the family, and in reality receives his stipend as a wage for acting as servant to the Queen. It would be a hardship to withdraw him from her service, and this is of course quite an exceptional case.

46. But besides Muddalgiri, there are of the class of non-relatives sixty individuals of the second life, drawing monthly stipends amounting to Rs. 309.4.7 or an annual disbursement of Rs. 3,711.7.0; and thirty of the third life drawing collectively Rs. 133.4.7 per month, or Rs. 1,599.7.0 per year, together with two allowances of Rs. 15 per month—180 per year; in all Rs. 5,490.14.0.¹ In all these cases I would propose to commute the pensions for an immediate payment of ten years' purchase. The result of such a plan to the pensioner may be very briefly stated.

47. A second life pensioner, drawing at the present date Rs. 100 per annum, would receive capital payment of Rs. 1,000. Assuming that this sum were invested by him at six per cent,—a very low rate for the lower classes in India,—it would produce Rs. 60 per annum in perpetuity. The present or second life would lose, undoubtedly, but if the actual pension were to descend in ordinary course to the third life, he would receive Rs. 50 per annum only, and would therefore be a gainer by the commutation. The succeeding generation, who under the present regulation would get nothing, would, if ordinary thrift were exercised, be to a certain extent provided for. At any rate a fair chance would be offered to the family to make a start in some kind of industry; and this, I venture to assert, is all that this Government is in equity liable for to these people, who enjoy their pensions only through an oversight.

48. The same principle holds good, though even more forcibly, with the third life pensioner. Supposing him to be at present in receipt of Rs. 50 per annum, his commutation at ten years' purchase would amount to Rs. 500. Invested at six per cent, this would produce an income of Rs. 30 per annum in perpetuity,—a very fair alternative for the existing life pension.

49. I have good reason to believe that a capital payment of ten years' purchase of each stipend would be thankfully accepted by the great majority of the class of pensioners now being treated of, for the simple reason that they would all easily find means of investment (coupled with their own labour) for their small capital. If the terms were merely offered to them for their acceptance or refusal, doubtless nearly all would refuse; for whenever a Government proposes to an uneducated Oriental to choose for himself whether he will do a thing or not, he immediately suspects some trap laid for him. It is not in accordance with his traditions, habits, or desires, that he should be consulted by Government, and he very naturally cannot understand it. But when he is told that anything has been decided by Government for his welfare, his nature prompts him to acquiesce, and make the best of it.

50. The immediate cost of such a measure to the Government would be an outlay of Rupees 54,908, 12 annas. But there would remain the six first lives and Mudalgiri, which would bring the total commutation for the second list, eventually, up to Rupees 59,016, 4 annas, which would dispose of 99 pensioners: relieving the Colony of an annual, though ultimately terminable, charge on the budget of one-tenth that amount. Financially, therefore, the investment would be a good one.

51. I am aware that the terms proposed appear less liberal than those mentioned by Mr. G. L. Morris, late Collector of Tanjore, as having been adopted in the case of the Tanjore Rāj. The average age, for example, of the sixty second-life pensioners (see Appendix) is forty-one, which on Mr. Morris's scale would give them ten years' purchase of their stipends, for their own lives; while the deferred annuity descending to the third life, at the rate of one half the present stipend, would be worth, according to an actuary's table, about four years' purchase of the reduced, or two years' purchase of the existing scale. The second life pensioner would thus be entitled to twelve years' purchase of his actual stipend, of which ten years would belong to himself, and two to his presumptive heir.

52. Again the average age of the 30 or 32 (if charitable allowances be included) third lives is thirty and one half years; which, on Mr. Morris's scale, would entitle them to eleven years' purchase. The reduction is, however, defensible on the ground that the continuance of the pensions is a matter of grace, and that the parties should be glad to get anything at all, the pensions having merely been continued to them through an oversight.

53. It appears also necessary to explain why, in lieu of a sliding scale of commutation, increasing in inverse ratio to the ages of the pensioners, an average of the whole ages has been proposed as the rule for all. In the first place, a general average for all would be understood by the pensioners, whereas a sliding scale would not; in the second, the only object in view being to provide as far as possible for these people, it is unquestionable that a man of fifty, who is now too old to commence work, stands far more in need of a liberal commutation than a young man of twenty-five, who probably has as yet no family to support, and who could easily, if he would, support himself. An average age of forty-one would appear to offer a very fair mean to adopt as the standard for the whole class.

54. Turning now to the class of pensioners included in list No. 1, all those whose names are enumerated therein will be found to be more or less really

Related to the old Kandyan Dynasty.

List No. 1 cannot unfortunately be dealt with in the summary and economical manner proposed for list No. 2. For, in the case of the majority of the persons classed in list No. 1, they belong to families of rank and comparative opulence at the time Kandy was taken. Passing over the somewhat inconvenient question as to the right of the English Government at the time to take permanent possession of Vickrema Sinha's kingdom, excepting for the benefit of the family of Mootoosamy, whose right to the throne it had recognised by treaty, it will, I think, be admitted that, according to the ideas of civilisation, neither the deposed dynasty, nor the families of their immediate relatives whose properties were seized by the English, can be allowed to starve in India, even supposing that the Madras Government did not interfere in their behalf; and for these a low rate of commutation such as that sketched out above would, I fear, not be practicable.

Almost without exception they are all heavily in debt, and a capitalisation of the pension would be much shorn in amount before the commuted sum reached the unfortunate pensioner. Again, extravagance seems to be inseparable from a native pensioner of any rank in India. As there is one, and only one, out of the forty-eight contained in list No. 1, who has any employment whatever; and as, with the exception of a very few, not only are the existing pensioners utterly devoid of any useful knowledge or acquirement, but their children and grand-children are being brought up in equal ignorance. Were a grand-son or other near relative of Vickrema Sinha, after having his pension commuted and receiving his capital, to squander it away in a short time, or lose it in a speculation, he would undoubtedly look to the Ceylon Government to give him another start in life; and I do not see how assistance could be refused him. He could not be allowed to starve; dig, he could not; he is not competent for anything higher.

55. And with the exception of some four or five of the higher class of pensioners, any but a forced commutation would, for the present at any rate, be impossible. The almost invariable answer with them, when I enquired whether they would commute, was, that this Government had their lands and property; that they and their children were without education, and did not understand how to employ money; that if money were given to them, their creditors would take part, and their relations and hangers-on spend the rest; that they therefore preferred their monthly stipends. The question remains, what can be done to improve the condition of these people, and to get them to amalgamate with the general population?

56. Even in list No. 1, it will, I think, be necessary again to draw a line of demarcation between mere ordinary relations and the actual Royal Family; meaning by this the grand-children of the ex-King, the sons by adoption of the ex-Queens, the widow of the ex-King's only son. Now that the genealogy of each pensioner has been correctly ascertained, it is not difficult to frame such a list.

57. With these near relations it is not easy to see how the system of reduction and extinction of pension can as yet possibly be carried into effect. Taking, for example, Vencatasamy Rājah, whose father has been recognised by this Government as the son, by adoption, of the widow of Mootoosamy Rājah,—an adoption which in Hindū law confers the same rights as would be enjoyed by the legitimate son of the defunct husband. This man is a third life pensioner, in receipt of an annual stipend of Rs. 700; were he to die to-morrow, it would be utterly impossible to enforce the rule that his pension must lapse, and his family be left to starve.

58. It is also very questionable how far the existing stipends of one or two of the first and second life pensioners are now susceptible of reduction. The present recipients are so heavily in debt that, were their pensions to be largely reduced, the heirs would receive nothing at all: the reduced stipend would barely suffice to pay interest on the debt. It is submitted that a reserved list be framed, consisting only of those most closely related, and that the rules relating to reduction of pension be not enforced of necessity with the persons on this list, but that, on any life falling in, each case be considered separately with reference to its special circumstances. The rule of one heir only being selected to succeed to each stipend should, however, be rigorously enforced. Such a list might fairly consist of

Muddukunuma—third Queen.

Kirthisimala Rājah—son of adopted son of second Queen.

Tayasimmala Rājah—adopted son of fourth Queen.

Dorasamy Rájah—son of Anglesamy Rájah.

Dharma Rájah—grand-son of Vickrema Sinha and fourth Queen.

Savetri Dévi—widow of Vickrema Sinha's only son.

Vencata Soobrayloo Rájah—adopted son of second Queen of Rájadhi Rájah Sinha married to niece of Vickrema Sinha.

Vencatasamy Rájah—son of adopted son of widow of Mootoosamy Rájah.

Coemarasamy Rájah—adopted son of first and second Queens of Rájadhi Sinha.

Mandalsami

Bhargavi Dévi

Andal Dévi

} Grand-daughters of fourth Queen.

59. It is difficult to resist the conclusion that, in the case of the above close relatives, commutation of pension should be effected on the supposition that the pension does not die out with the third life, and that the capital payment should therefore be calculated on a more liberal scale than with those who have less claim to consideration. It should also only be permitted when there is reasonable prospect that the sum of money to be paid down will be utilised properly, and for the benefit of the recipient's family as well as of himself. This might, it is believed, safely be done in the case of Vencatasamy Rájah, of whose superior education and intelligence there can be no doubt; while the Assistant Collector at Negapatam bore high testimony to his respectability and general character. Possibly also Dorasamy Rájah at Madura would be glad to obtain a fair rate of commutation for his stipend; and as he is understood to be possessed of private means, there would be little risk in allowing the measure in his case. But I do not think that less than sixteen years' purchase could fairly be offered in either of these cases. With the remainder of the persons on the reserved list, a permanent commutation could only be carried out after careful enquiry as to the intended disposal of the money, and as to the prospect of the pensioner not squandering it in a short period, and then falling back into

Dependence on the Ceylon Government.

60. As regards the remaining persons in List No. 1,* who are all related, though less closely, to the Kandyan dynasty, there appears no reason for relaxing the rule as to the reduction of stipends on the lives falling in and their final extinction with the third life; it would, for the reasons already stated in a previous paragraph, be unadvisable to attempt any commutation with the seven remaining first-life pensioners. Of the second-life there are now 25 on the list, not as yet disposed of; commutation might without much risk be allowed in these cases wherever the present holder and his heir, the third-life, consent to accept the sum allowed them in full satisfaction of all claims on this Government;—the rate of commutation, as already explained in para 53, to be calculated from the average age of the class. This for the twenty-five pensioners now being dealt with, is found to give a mean of forty-four years—entitling the holders, according to Mr. Morris's table, to ten years' purchase for the rights of the existing lives; and the value of the deferred annuities, to which the third lives become entitled, has been shewn in para 51 to be four years' purchase of the reduced, or two years' of the existing scale. In all, say twelve years' purchase of the Rs. 401,12.10 drawn by the second lives, and amounting to a capital sum of Rs. 57,859.8. To the four remaining third lives, as last holders, there would be little risk in granting commuted payments; the scale might be as before, from the average ages of the

* 1 1st life; 5 2nd life; 6 3rd life; Total, 12 Pensioners.

† 7 1st lives; 25 2nd lives; 4 3rd lives; Total, 36 Pensioners.

recipients, found calculated, to be 34 years,—this, on Mr. Morris's table, would give eleven years' purchase of the pensions, involving a capital outlay of Rs. 7,084.0.0. The immediate expense of commuting the pensions of the twenty-nine second and third lives will thus come to Rs. 64,943.8, to which has further to be added that of the gradual extinction of the seven first lives—which are not to be so dealt with until the decease of the present holders, and the consequent reduction of the stipends by one-third,—the aggregate of the stipends will then amount to Rs. 121.7.9, and the commutations will amount to Rs. 17,494, making the commutation of the 36 pensions eventually amount to Rs. 12,437.8.

61. The main object, however, to be first attained, I would venture to submit, should be to disencumber the present lists of the 99 pensioners, who are now included in them, though they have no claim on this Government. If this be once effected by some such measure as that suggested for adoption as regards list No. 2, the number of real Kandyan pensioners will be reduced to 48, and the dealing with individual cases on the remaining list will become tolerably simple. The policy of this Government should be to reduce as much as possible the number of the pensioners, and to prevent their banding together, and keeping up pretensions to royalty; their amalgamation with the surrounding population will then slowly but surely progress.

62. One of the greatest impediments to the progress of these pensioners in education and industry, is, that a number of them are allowed to reside in the Mahul of Vellore. Some ten families are congregated there, living in complete idleness and separation from the general population, and forming a nucleus of prejudice and pretension which are as absurd as they are prejudicial to the real welfare of the pensioners.

63. It would be a hardship to turn out the older pensioners, but the Madras Government should be requested to refuse permission to any further applicants to reside in the Mahul, and to discourage as far as possible the continuance of the occupation of those located there.

64. Another difficulty to be got over is the state of complete ignorance in which the children of the pensioners living at Vellore, Tanjore, and Madras are being brought up. When taxed with this neglect of their children, the regular answer was, that their pensions were so small that they could not afford to pay the school fees—usually about one anna a month per child. Now, there are excellent schools at all four places, attended by children of caste equal to and better than that of the pensioners; and I feel sure that it would be a very good investment of money were this Government to undertake to pay for the schooling of the children of all persons whose names are retained on the pension list. This would effectually take away the principal excuse for idleness and dependence as far as the rising generation is concerned; and the expense for all four places—Vellore, Madura, Tanjore, and Negapatam—would not amount to Rs. 100 per annum. I need hardly say that the school fees should be paid to the schoolmasters direct, not to the parents.

65. To sum up,

The General Policy of this Government

as regards these pensioners, should be to eliminate from the pension roll, by a summary but equitable process, all those who have no real right to depend on this Government for support; when the list has thus been reduced within manageable limits, gradually to thin it still further by commuting the pensions of any of those remaining on the roll, who are prepared to accept

fair terms of capitalisation, and who appear likely to make a proper use of their money. When the pensions list has been reduced to forty or fifty persons, divided between the four stipend pay offices, which now form their head-quarters, there will be no difficulty in instituting minute enquiries respecting each case as it turns up for settlement; and making the best arrangements for the permanent welfare of the families.

66. It would be far more advisable gradually to thin off list No. 1, than to sweep it away by a general capitalisation of pensions. Were twenty-five or thirty thousand pounds now to be distributed among the forty-eight pensioners on list No. 1, I have no hesitation in saying that, within five years, forty, out of the forty-eight, would have squandered away the whole of their capital; and this Government would again be resorted to and be obliged to step in to relieve them from death and starvation.

67. This report has already reached a length which precludes any attempt to deal within its limits, with the petitions from various pensioners, 56 in number, which have been either referred to me by this Government, or presented direct to me at the various stations. They may, however, very briefly be summarised, by stating the prevailing principle sought to be established in all of them,—that this Government should support themselves, their families—however numerous, and relatives in idleness for the rest of time. A separate memorandum will be submitted on each petition; but this report would be incomplete were all mention omitted of the grievances of the principal surviving pensioner,—the third ex-Queen of Vickrema Sinha.

68. Four petitions from the Queen are annexed. (See Appendix.) Putting aside the allusions to the insufficiency of the pensions of Coomarasamy and Cundasamy, and of Veziaragavendrasamy, which have been inserted by those gentlemen for their own benefit,—the complaints are

That she owes Rs. 8,000, of which Rs. 2,000 is a debt contracted long ago, Rs. 4,000 was contracted on the occasion of the marriage of her son, the balance has accrued since. The interest on this debt, she states, absorbs the whole of her pension.

That she has no house to live in.

That the rule of recognising one heir only to pension be abrogated, and that suitable provision be always made for each member of the Royal Family.

69. Similarly, that the rule for reduction of pensions on the falling in of each life, and their extinction with the third, be not extended to the Royal Family. On the last point, I have already had the honor to submit my views in a previous portion of this Report.

70. On the question of recognising more than one heir to a pension, I cannot speak too strongly: there can be only two means of departing from it—By giving a separate pension to each member of the family, on the occurrence of the parent's death. But this would mean a fresh pension to each child born in the Royal Family, i.e., in the families of each of the four ex-Queens of Vickrema Sinha; and equally in those of the questions of Rajadhi Sinha and Mootoo-samy Rajah. This of course is simply out of the question. Or, on the other hand, to subdivide a pension, on the death of the recipient, between all who had been dependent on him, or her, for support, would mean the pauperisation of the whole class. A first life pension of Rs. 50 per mensem split up, as has been the case before now, between fourteen different people, gives Rs. 3.9 to each second life—even supposing the pension not to suffer reduction. But when one of the second lives falls in, and this pittance comes again to be subdivided, what will remain for the third lives? As on the one hand this Government has recognised the principle of allowing the widow of a pensioner, or the pensioner himself to adopt, in default of issue, an heir to

succeed to the pension; so on the other hand it appears reasonable that the Government should decide to recognise one heir only, thus making provision for keeping up the family, but not permitting the indefinite increase of a class whose one object is to grow up in idleness and dependence.

71. With reference to the two first points, the question really at issue is, whether anything can be done to ameliorate the condition of this old lady, now fast approaching her grave. To pay her debts purely and simply would mean, giving facilities to the crowd of hangers-on, who live upon her, to contract fresh ones. To remove her to a large house would be merely to make room for and increase the number of hangers-on.

72. The pension allotted to the third Queen for her own maintenance, was formerly Rs. 80 per mensem, but in 1858, upon her representing that she then owed Rs. 6,000, and that the interest absorbed all her incomings, the pension was increased to Rs. 125, with the express intention of enabling her to make arrangements for paying off her debts. The only result has been that her debts have increased to Rs. 8,000.

73. It would be

An Act of Humanity

an enquiry were made into these liabilities, and any that were fairly incurred paid off. If the pension were in return reduced to Rs. 80, its former rate, and a similar reduction were made from the amount that will descend to her adopted son, the family would be placed in a much more favourable position, and the Ceylon Government would not be losers by the transaction.

74. For the few remaining years of her life, too, I would suggest that a more comfortable house be taken for her, at the expense of Government, if such can be found; but on the distinct understanding that the favour is personal to her only. More than this cannot, I fear, be done for her.

75. The inquiry into the Queen's debts, and the selection of a house for her, may safely be left to the Tanjore authorities. The duty of looking after the pensioners there is performed, (together with the far more important one of the charge of the Tanjore Palace and its inmates), by a native Sirkeel under the orders of the Collector; and it is fortunate that the Sirkeel is most thoroughly versed in the history, wants, and pretensions of the Kandyan pensioners; and takes a deep interest in the ex-Queen and her unhappy condition. He is a most respectable man, and I do not think that the case could be in better hands.

76. Inasmuch, too, as the proceedings of the Madras Government, and Minute of Lord Napier, which first brought the subject of the condition of these pensioners prominently to the notice of this Government, are specially connected with certain petitions addressed by some of the pensioners at Negapatam, belonging to the family of the late Mootoosamy Rajah, I have included in the Appendix (vide Appendix) those petitions, proceedings, and Minute, together with a report on such of the points raised therein as have not been separately discussed above.

77. It is possible that some of the measures above proposed for adoption with reference to the pensioners on list No. 1, may not bear strict financial scrutiny, in the view of the Government making a profitable investment of its funds in the gradual commutation of the higher class of pensions. It has been difficult, however, to resist the conviction, that the permanent settlement of these exiles in the only country really suited to them, and in such a manner as that they may in time, and without grievous hardship, be absorbed into the general population, is a matter of political justice and necessity rather than one which should be strictly tested by its probable financial success.

I have, &c.,

JOHN DOUGLAS,

Auditor-General.

The Hon'ble

The Colonial Secretary.

(To be continued.)

The Ceylon Antiquary

and

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Part II.

SINHALESE AND KANDYAN ARCHITECTURE.

By J. P. LEWIS, C.M.G., C.C.S. (Retired.)

AT a recent meeting of the Ceylon Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society one of the speakers propounded the theory that the Sinhalese had no architecture of their own. I maintain that, as regards the Kandyans at least, this statement is incorrect. Whatever may have been its model or source, the Kandyans developed what one might describe as a wooden architecture of their own i. e., a style of architecture which, first carried out in the wooden buildings to which it was specially devised, was eventually followed in stone as well.

Any one travelling in the Kandyan districts and taking note of their temples and dwellings must have been struck with something distinctive and original about them, not to be found in the rest of the island or in Southern India. I endeavoured to work out and illustrate this thesis in a paper published in Mr. H. W. Cave's *Book of Ceylon* in 1908, (pp. 325-377.) I suggested its resemblance to Nepalese rather than Dravidian or Tamil architecture.

Dr. Coomaraswamy, in the chapters on architecture in his *Medieval Sinhalese Art*, published in 1909, adopts the same view (pp. 114, 129) and says: "The typical Kandyan wooden architecture has a distinct character of its own. In spite of the great remains at Anuradhapura it should be fully realised that the truly national and indigenous architecture has always been one of wooden building." Further "It is natural that much of the best Kandyan woodwork should be architectural, and that it should derive a special charm from its architectural adaptation."

With regard to its ultimate origin I had remarked: "The architecture which it most resembles would appear to be that of the temples of Mudbidri in Kanara or the Tuluva country on the Malabar coast, and it is perhaps significant that the religion of the people of this country is Jainism, and that the religions of the Buddhists and the Jains were so similar to one another in their origin and their development and doctrines, that their architecture must also at one time have been nearly the same."¹

Dr. Coomaraswamy writes: "In India stone building was not practised until a little before Asoka's time (third century B. C.), and no doubt a knowledge of it came to Ceylon from Northern India along with the Buddhist Missionaries; but a wooden style was already well established, and while serving as a model for the work in stone, has never been itself displaced. Buddhist wooden architecture of the same general type is still to be found in Nepal; in most other parts of India it has been replaced by stone."²

In my papers I had quoted James Fergusson as remarking of the Jains that their architecture is neither the Dravidian style of the South nor that of Northern India, and that this style of architecture is not known to exist anywhere else in India proper but recurs with all its peculiarities in Nepal.

It also recurs in the Kandyan districts where the indigenous style has the same features that struck Fergusson as characteristic of that of the Mudbidri and Nepal temples, but for details of these resemblances I must refer the readers of the *Ceylon Antiquary* to my paper above quoted.³ I think the Sinhalese may therefore fairly claim to have what is practically now an original style of architecture exhibited in the buildings erected by the Kandyan section of the race, even though its scope is somewhat limited. Nor am I prepared to accept Dr. Emmanuel Roberts' dictum as regards ancient Sinhalese architecture, though the theory that it is of Dravidian origin was suggested by Mr. S. M. Burrows.⁴

Against this theory there is the occurrence in Ceylon of the moonstone. Dr. A. Willey says—"Readers of Fergusson's *History of Eastern Architecture* will not need to be told that the ornate semi-circular threshold stones, commonly known as moonstones, which occur at the bases of flights of steps leading into the *Pansalas* and *Vihāras* of Ceylon, are an exclusive character of the ancient architecture of this Island and are not found in India nor elsewhere on the Asiatic continent." And even Mr. Burrows in the middle of his argument has to admit that "the design of the pillars, which play so important a part in the Sinhalese ruins, appears to be confined to the Island."⁵

One of the peculiar features of Kandyan buildings is the doors and windows. I gave some illustrations of both from photographs in *The Book of Ceylon*,⁶ but some sketches could not be reproduced. I noted that some of the smaller windows were like miniature doors in every detail.

The following are rough sketches of

- (1) a window at Aluwihāre seen from outside and
- (2) of one at the Dehigama Walauwa, Kandy, as seen from inside.

These windows have no bars but are closed by inside shutters.

1. *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture*, by James Fergusson, pp. 207-8, quoted on pp. 325-6 of *The Book of Ceylon*.

2. *Medieval Sinhalese Art*, p. 114.

3. See *The Book of Ceylon*, p. 324.

4. *The Buried Cities of Ceylon*, pp. 14-15.

5. *Spolia Zeylanica*, Vol. V, p. 139.

6. pp. 159, 163, 268, 271, 272, 275, 276.

ROOM IN THE "OLD PALACE," KANDY.



Photograph by

1

The late Mr. J. Burleigh Campbell.



Photograph by

2

The late Mr. H. W. Carr.

1000 - 1000



WINDOW AT THE GAL VIHARE

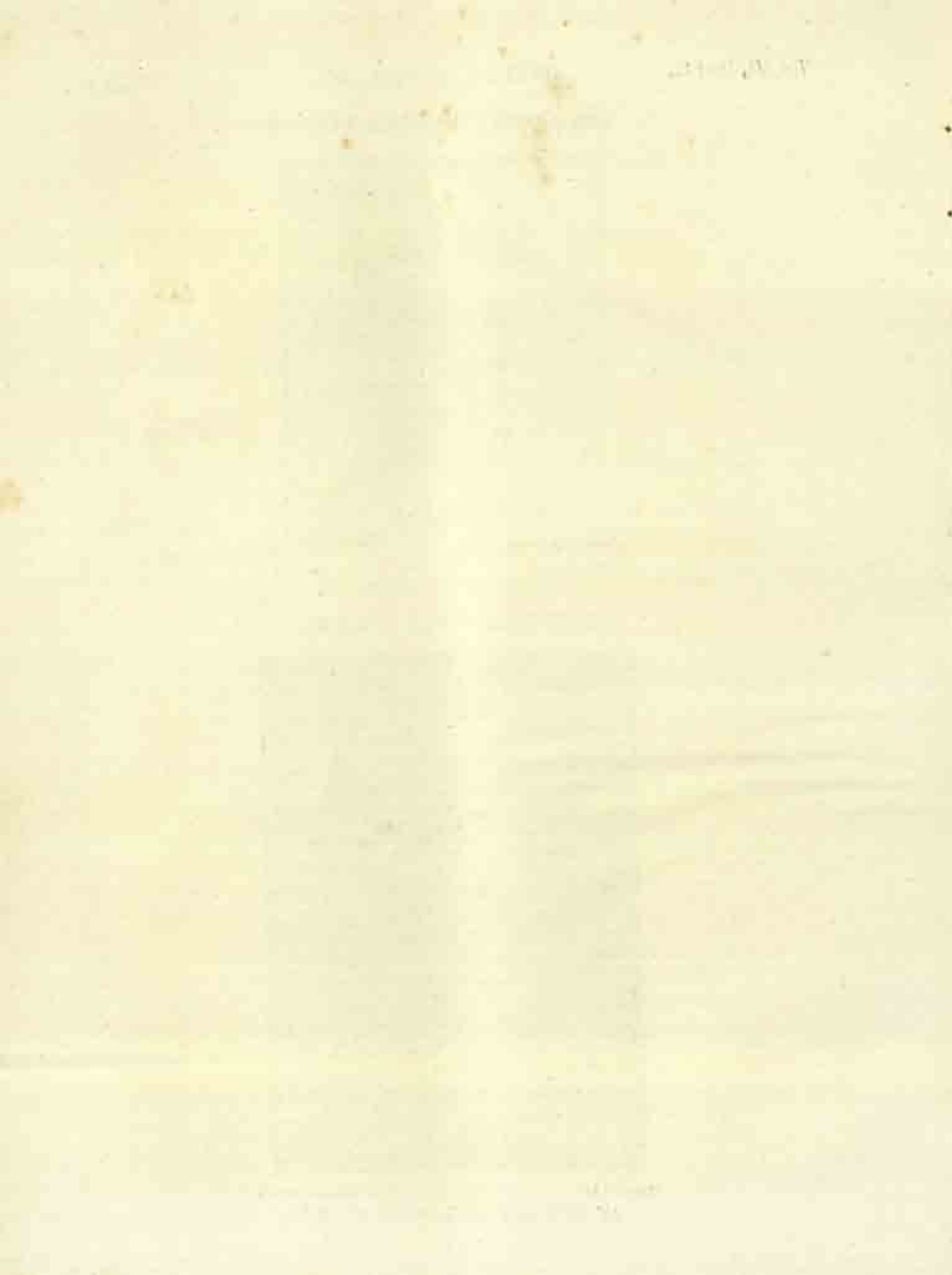


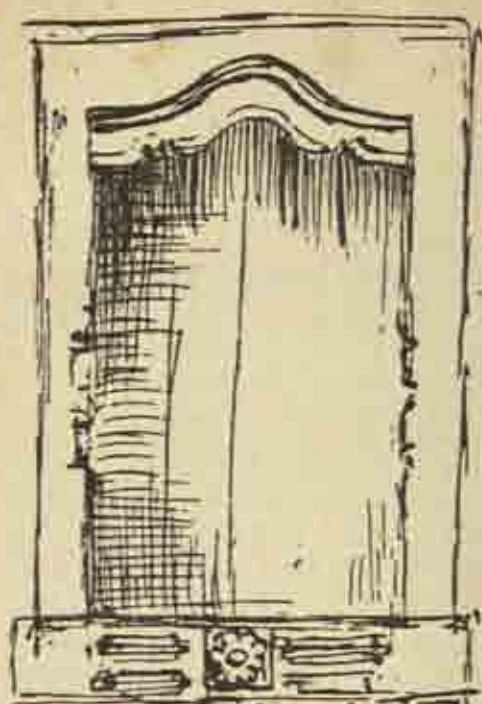
Photograph by Dr. A. K. Channarayana
at Gonawatta Ferry, near Kandy.

KANDYAN ROOF BEAMS



Photograph by Dr. A. K. Channarayana
AT THE AUDIENCE HALL, KANDY.

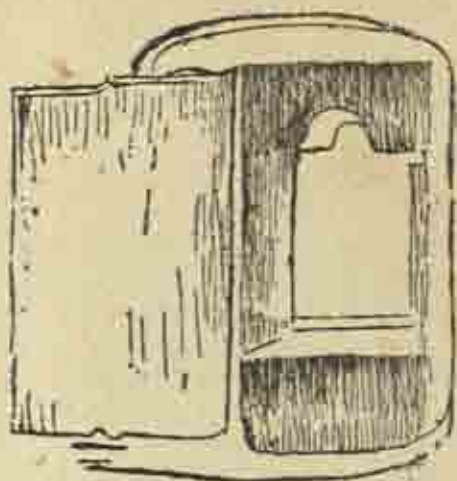




J.F.L.

8 Sept. 1904.

WINDOW AT ALUWIHĀRE.



J.F.L.

1908.

WINDOW AT DEHIGAMA
WALAUWA, KANDY.

From Interior.

An interesting discovery of Kandyan windows was made at the Old Palace in July, 1908. "Four were found in a line longitudinally piercing the front wall which contains the main entrance, and vaulted in wood. These windows made it possible to see down the verandah from end to end—Their dimensions are from 27 to 33 inches in height to from 19 inches to 21 inches in width, and from the thickness of this wall, they are from 4 to 5 feet deep. Above these were two smaller windows of the same pattern, also in a line, and looking into the verandah. They are almost exactly half the size of the others, being 14 inches in height and 10 to 12 inches in width. The six windows had been bricked up, doubtless in early British times, but traces of the original paint remain. They have been reopened, with much advantage to the appearance of the principal room of the Old Palace, already noted for the ancient Kandyan figures which decorate its walls." (*Administration Report on the Central Province for 1908.*)

The accompanying photographs (see Plate II) show the side of this room containing these figures (1) before the discovery of the windows and (2) after it. I have included (1) because it is the best photograph of the figures that I have ever seen,⁷ while (2) shows the windows very clearly and their position with regard to the figures, though the latter are indistinct. The windows have small round arches with impost mouldings and, as I remarked of one at the Malwatta temple, "might pass for Norman."⁸ This is the first time that any photograph of them has been published.

I also annex a photograph of a Kandyan window which I obtained for my paper published in Mr. Cave's book from Dr. Coomaraswamy but which, as Mr. Cave took his own photographs, did not appear. It is a good example of the type of window which has door, lintel and threshold in miniature, and also lacquered wooden bars. This window is at the Gal Vihāre at Gonawatta Ferry near Kandy. (See Plate III).

7. It was taken by the late F. Burleigh Campbell of the Survey Department, an excellent amateur photographer. The other was taken by the late Mr. H. W. Cave, or a member of his staff.

8. *The Book of Ceylon*, p. 271.

The woodwork of the Kandyan roof, too, is characteristic. A photograph taken by Dr. Coomaraswamy, also obtained for my paper but not utilised and now reproduced⁹ for the first time, is a good illustration of the care bestowed on making the rafters where they project into the verandah ornamental. This is to be seen in the Audience Hall at Kandy.¹⁰ Unfortunately there is no indication of the whereabouts of the subject of this last photograph. It will be seen that the work is very elaborate, every rafter having been heavily carved with notches, the effect being unique.

I have quite recently made an interesting discovery with regard to the Kandyan door. I had supposed that it was peculiar to the Kandyans or at least to the East, but I find that the same type of doorway without hinges was in vogue in England in mediæval times, and that specimens of it are not infrequently met with in buildings dating from that period.

In the Kandyan door instead of hinges "the inner edge of the door which is made of a thick plank is rounded off and projects at the top and bottom in short circular ends which fit into sockets and on this axis the door swings,"¹¹ or as Dr. Coomaraswamy says: "The doors . . . were exceedingly massive adze-hewn planks, turning on two dowels forming part of the door itself and fitting into the frame above and below."¹²

At Llangelynin Church in Merionethshire, North Wales, the doors are described by the architect who restored it, Mr. Harold Hughes, A.R.I.B.A., as "swung on oaken pivots formed out of the planks of the door,"¹³ and he informs me that "many old doors were hung on pivots or pins formed out of the wood of the door itself" and remarks that "it is certainly interesting to find the same construction in Ceylon."¹⁴

Mr. Edward Owen F.S.A., Secretary of the Royal Commission on the Ancient Monuments of Wales, says: "I have met with one or two instances in Wales of what was probably a fairly common feature, namely the hanging of the church doors on wooden pegs, but cannot now remember the places."¹⁵

No doubt the same construction was adopted in domestic buildings in England and Wales, but, compared with the ecclesiastical, few of these remain with their original woodwork.

APPENDIX.

I hope I may be allowed space to make a few corrections in my paper in *The Book of Ceylon*, as otherwise I shall probably have no opportunity for it. The second edition appeared before I knew that it was intended to print one.

The most important is on page 358. '*Pufuwa*' should be '*puffuwa*' and the word does not mean "chair," but a design of two or more animals linked together. I should have verified the word "Goose-chair," and "lion-chair" should therefore be cancelled. The word for "chair" has but one *f*.

On page 329 the note* is in the wrong place. It should be a note to the preceding paragraph, line 2 ending at the word "building," and "Fergusson" should be substituted for "He." For "*walthakada*" read "*wahalkada*."

Page 330. There should be no circumflex accent on *madame* here or anywhere where it occurs. There should be no accent or mark over it. The use of the circumflex accent too in *wihare* on p. 338, etc., is not correct.

Page 345, line 3 from top insert "which is" before "confined."

Page 346 line 21 from top omit "and."

Page 349 line 11 from top "gods" should be "god."

Page 377. The note should read: "It has been removed from the wall, which accounts for the whole of the framework being visible."

Page 373. Note † read "temples, e.g. at Galmaduwa."

9. These photographs did not appear in Dr. Coomaraswamy's work.

10. See *The Book of Ceylon*, page 348 and illustration No. 478.

11. *The Book of Ceylon*, p. 374. *Sports & Amusements*. Vol. V, p. 129.

12. *Medieval Sinhalese Art*, p. 115.

13. *Archæologia Cambrensis* Vol. 17, p. 403 (1917.)

14. Letter dated 7 Jan., 1918.

15. Letter dated 23 Dec., 1918.

THE DAILY RITUAL AT THE DALADĀ MĀLIGĀVA.

By ARTHUR A. PERERA.

AT evening the *Tevakarana Sanghaya*,¹ the *Hakgedi Appa*,² the *Kattiyana rāla*,³ the *Gebardāla*,⁴ and the *Wattōra rāla*⁵ wash their faces, hands and feet at the *Māligāva* well, go upstairs to the shrine and remove from the *āsanaya*⁶ the flowers that had been placed there in the morning.

(2) The *Wattōra-rāla*⁵ takes out the *atapirikara*,⁷ the *dohati*,⁸ the *kendiya*,⁹ the *chāmara*,¹⁰ the *vigina patra*,¹¹ the *kapuruatta*,¹² and the *handun karanduva*.¹³

(3) The officiating priest covers the *āsanaya*⁶ with an *etirilla*¹⁴ and places on it the above-mentioned articles. The *Hakgedi appu* sounds the conch and the drummers begin the *tevāva*¹⁵ music.

(4) The officiating priest puts a *putkade*¹⁶ on the ground, kneels on it and worships the relic, washes his hands and says the *ārādanāva*.¹⁷

(5) The officiating priest places the *dohati*⁸ on the *āsanaya*⁶ and says the *Dehettavadana gāthā*,¹⁸ he pours water in to a small spittoon from the *kendiya*⁹ and says the *Siri-mukayata-diyaavadana gāthā*,¹⁹ he holds up a towel and says the *Siri-mukayata-telmattukarana gāthā*,²⁰ he touches the robes and says the *Sirru-pūjā gāthā*,²¹ he again pours water from the *kendiya*⁹ into a large spittoon and says the *Siripādayata diyaavadana gāthā*,²² he lays his hand on the *āsanaya* and says the *Āsana-pūjā gāthā*,²³ he fans the shrine and says the

1. The officiating Buddhist priest.

2. The conch-shell blower.

3. The servant who has to carry from the kitchen to the sanctuary the daily food offering in a plate.

4. The servant who issues out the paddy, rice oil and the like from the store room.

5. The servant who opens and closes the doors of the sanctuary, and keeps the place clean.

6. Altar.

7. The eight articles necessary for a Buddhist priest consisting of three robes, a dish, a girdle, a razor, a needle and a water strainer.

8. Roots used for cleaning the teeth.

9. A vessel for water with a spout.

10. A fly flapper.

11. A fan.

12. A vessel for camphor.

13. A vessel for water mixed with powdered sandal wood.

14. A cloth covering.

15. The morning, noon, and evening service.

16. A cloth on which a Buddhist priest prostrates himself in a temple.

17. *Ye dhammā hetuppa bhagavā sambhūta nāthā gāthā.*

Ahāsi sūchayo nirodho evanvādi mahā-samāno

Nittānto nibbupāpāpamā etena samanphalan

Udāro paṇḍitiko bhāsaṇa gacchanti sūgata.

Tāvata bhagavā lokā tirāsiya bhavessānan.

Nāvathavā gacchāvā pājan jhānukampayan.

18. *Nāgādhāntakāsa, mandānto dakanyatā*

Patiganhāta bhagavā dānāpānādhānāna.

19. *Modustāpā nāthā nirodhitte eulakkonā*

Savāpānāntānā eulakkonāpānā

20. *Dāvānāsa dābhaya, oparūpa Paridūno*

Vasuddhāvāsanāta yāso kīrānānānānānā

21. *Kōsāyākkāntāna, kōnānāntāna kāntāna*

Nāvānāna bhāgavānāna eulakkonā dānānā gāthā.

22. *Sabbānāntāna pāna, eulakkonā dānānā*

Nāvānānā pāna, eulakkonā dānānā

23. *Nāvānānā pāna, eulakkonā dānānā*

Pavan-pūjā gāthā:²⁴ he waves the *chāmara*²⁵ and says the *Chāmara gāthā*²⁶; he rings a bell and says the *Mini-pūjā gāthā*.²⁷

(6) The *Wattōru-rāla*²⁸ comes in and removes the robes and utensils while the officiating priest takes camphor from the *kapuru-atta*²⁹ and says the *Kapuru-pūjā gāthā*,³⁰ burns the camphor at the *dolos-maha-pāna*,³¹ saying the *Dum-pūjā gāthā*,³² and he sprinkles sandal wood water from the *handun-karanduva*,³³ saying the *Handun-pūjā gāthā*.³⁴

(7) The officiating priest spreads the *patkadē*,³⁵ kneels and worships the relic, washes his hands and takes from the *Gebarāla*³⁶ salvers full of *kekana*³⁷ flowers and spreads them on the *āsanaya* saying the *Mal-pūjā gāthā*.³⁸

(8) The curtain is drawn aside and the worshippers are allowed to come in and offer flowers.

(9) After an interval the *Hakgedi-appu* blows the conch and sounds a bell; the drummers begin the *muruten*³⁹ music, the *Kattiyana-rāla* brings up a pingo load of liquid food from the *Māligāva* kitchen and places it in the sanctuary.

(10) The curtain is drawn, the officiating priest spreads an *etirilla* over the flowers on the *āsanaya*, pours water into a cup saying the *Srihasta-panvadina gāthā*,⁴⁰ places the bowl of liquid food on the *āsanaya* saying the *Aharapūjā gāthā*,⁴¹ spreads the *patkadē* on the ground, worships the shrine saying the *Velendimata arādanāva*⁴² and comes out.

(11) After a short interval the officiating priest goes in, pours water into a small spittoon saying the *Siri-mukayata-diyawadana gāthā*,⁴³ holds a towel saying the *Siri-mukayata-telmattukarana gāthā*,⁴⁴ offers betel on a golden tray saying the *Dehet-pūjā gāthā*,⁴⁵ burns incense with the *Dum-pūjā gāthā*, worships on the *patkadē* saying the *Budun-samākāra gāthā*⁴⁶ and comes downstairs. The *Wattōru-rāla* sprinkles the floor with *dummala*⁴⁷ water and locks the doors.

(12) At dawn and forenoon the above ceremonies are repeated but, in place of liquid food, eatables are offered. On Wednesdays before the forenoon ritual the officiating priest and the *Māligāve* servants bathe, the metal utensils are polished and the *handun-karanduva*⁴⁸ replenished: the officiating priest takes a looking glass, holds it before the shrine and anoints the reflection with *nana*.⁴⁹

24. Vandanāmanā sokkara, j hājanā sokkige mungara
Manuna Pavanag nāhi Pige necha Pūjā

25. Tilaka tilaka budha, alidha vada gasekara
Mohara hēna sugata pūjā chāmara naha

26. Sandaya Vānu Kōvina Saranema burānara
Saudharmade dea at aivā pāna gentaya Pūjā

27. Sannādan pānānāna, Dipanāma darsanā
Tilakol Pen Sambuddha Pūjā yēni anānāyān

28. An oil lamp kept lit night and day throughout the year.

29. Gendhesambhāre yuthāna, dopēnē hānigandhā
Pūjā Pūjā yenthen Pūjā Jēna muttāma

30. Sugandhikāyavadaa mahanthegunagandhā
Sugandhintha gandhā pūjāyol pāpāgathān

31. A tree peculiar to Ceylon (*Canarium Zeylanicum*)

32. Vannagandha gūru pēna, ēnān kōvina santānā
Pūjānī munānāna Sripāda sārānā

33. Food offered at a shrine

34. Atanta nā nō mummilō dakkinō yīyo gūnakarō
Patigunhāta bagarō dakkinō danta muttāman

35. Adivastunānānā bhōjanā Parikappitan
Anukāpāna unādāya Patigānā tūmantāman

36. Nirādayamī sambuddhān jūa nē gēmā hōmmān
Nirādaya yēni sugata lōka pēnānānā saba

37. Nāgavallī dala Pētan Chūn a Pūga Sānādruga
Nōmānā pānānānānā vakkopura midanpān

38. Kāyānē chāchittāna, Pāmadēna māyā kātān
Achnāyān nāma Wētanānā bhūi rīpēna nōlāgān

39. Resin

40. A composition made of lime juice, powdered sandalwood and herbs for cleansing the hair

HISTORICAL RECORDS OF THE SOCIETY OF JESUS.¹

By THE REV. S. G. PERERA, S.J.

IV.

NARRATIVE OF THE EVENTS OF THE EAST INDIES OF THE MONSOON OF 1655.²

Translated from the Portuguese.

FOR years the affairs of this state (Portuguese India) promised no improvement, and they never had worse results for us. The English proposed to the Conde de Obidos to join forces against the Hollanders, but though every reason of state demanded the acceptance of the offer, they found reason, as they always do, for declining it.

When the Conde³ was removed, the Governor, Dom Bras de Castro, seized the opportunity. The English accepted the terms, but, knowing that the galleons were unrigged and would delay to start, hastened to relieve the ships which were in Persia; for the Hollanders, who knew all that was taking place, got together all the sail that could be spared from the south, and meeting the English in Sind defeated them⁴ and came thence to Surrate with 13 sails to refit.

Meanwhile our five galleons were ready and set sail,⁵ rather late, for Ceylon with five *galeotas* of provisions. The Capitao Mor was Anto Barreto Pereira in the galleon *Nazareth*,⁶ the Admiral, Alvaro de Nabaes in *S. Joao Perola*,⁷ Dom Antonio Sottomayor in *Sancto Antonio*,⁸ Francisco Machado Deca in *S. Joseph*,⁹ and Antonio de Abreu in *S. Phelipe*¹⁰; Captains to whom His Majesty entrusted the said galleons in Lisbon, except Don Antonio who was appointed in India.

They sighted Ceylon on 22nd March, and on the 23rd Collumbo came in view. In the bar were three ships of the Hollanders,¹¹ two of good size and well furnished with guns,¹² which on seeing ours tried to get windward, trusting to their swiftness to try conclusions. Our Capitao Mor, with the self-same intention, directed towards Gale, and when the wind fell, fired a challenge to which the enemy replied, though it could clearly be seen from the Almirante and Fiscal that they declined combat.

By eleven o'clock the wind rose, and the Hollanders, being unable to avoid battle, as they were to the landward,¹³ exchanged fire till our Admiral turned his prow right on the

1. Continued from Vol. III, pt. 44, p. 218.

2. *Relacao de novas do Indio Oriental desde o anno de 1655, M^o Q^o 24*. It consists of 25 close written pages. The writer's account is very involved and at times unintelligible. The translation faithfully reproduces both these defects. The events described in the first part of the letter are referred to by De Quoyroz (*Conquista* p. 755 & sqq.) Baldeus and Valentyn.

3. D. Vasco Mascarenhas, Conde de Obidos, was forcibly removed from the Viceroyalty.

4. The Hollanders captured 3 East India Company's ships, *Redoubt*, *Lantern*, *Blessing*.

5. From Goa in the beginning of March 1654. Q. 755. 6. 34 guns. 7. 22 guns. 8. 18 guns. 9. 20 guns.

10. 18 guns. 11. The *Greyhound*, *Almoeraz*, and *Gromedary* which were blockading Colombo. Baldeus, eb. 43.

12. According to De Quoyroz the Dutch Captains carried 52 guns. 13. E. was com. sea prod.

enemy's *Capitania*, grappling and giving her such a charge, as she carried good guns, that the ship almost foundered (*sosobrada*). The *Capitania* of the Hollanders, which was surrounded by the *Nazareth* and *S. Phelipe*, tried to turn, but our flagship turned her prow on her. Here I should like to stop so as to avoid relating the disorders due perhaps to excess of valour, seeing that we fought a pirate proud of his success though he lost heart when he saw our galleons.

The Hollanders had a good and numerous force taken from the garrison of Negombo, a ship carrying upwards of 40 guns, and a vallant *Capitao Mor*. Our Captain, having grappled with the enemy's ship, thought himself obliged to board her, because, they say, he saw that the men were irresolute—he had only a few veteran soldiers of India—and they say that he tried three or four times. At the first he received a *pique* in his leg, but making no account of the wound, with the valour that animated him, seeing that the Hollander Captain gathered his men with determination to resist ours, he rushed at him with sword and shield¹⁴ and ran him through and killed him. Captain Abreu came on the other side, firing on the enemy till the spritsail (*civadeira*) was carried away. There was no Hollander to be seen, and one of our soldiers shouted out to him that the ship was captured. Whereupon, he anchored by the prow and thence fired some shot at it. A Hollander begged quarter, and one of our soldiers despatched him with his musket. Such are our soldiers.

At four or five o'clock, when the shrouds of the enemy's ship were cut and the ship destroyed by shot, the *Capitao Mor* came on board, and a raw soldier (*bizonho*) called out to him by name and told him to get away, as they had their eyes on him. At that moment he was shot through the groin and died within an hour; some say that he had already been wounded. He was one of the bravest men that set foot in India. The enemy were now so few, that we have it for certain that only 7 of that ship escaped. But in this confusion, (as it always happens with us in similar circumstances, because we never profit by our opportunities nor follow a determined plan, contrary to the custom of other nations, as we have learnt at the cost of so many misfortunes), the enemy took opportunity to cut the grapplings, and being carried by the tide went aground on the coast near Negombo.

Cap. Nebaes boarded the Hollander ship with his men and mastered the lofts, and when Don Antonio approached them, they told him that the ship was seized and asked him to go in pursuit of the other; and our Admiral, being afterwards shot through the arm, died of it in Colombo, where he was taken for treatment. When many of the Hollanders had been killed, the ship's grapplings were cut,¹⁵ and the ship broke away carrying five of our soldiers, who are given up for dead; and as she had neither rigging nor sail she also ran aground.

Francisco Machado Dessa pursued the third ship, but she escaped and made for Negombo. The General of Ceylon, Francisco de Mello de Castro, inquiring what was the matter, was told that the Hollanders were making merry.

On the 24th the galleons put into Colombo to land the reinforcements they had brought, and as they had no orders to pass the winter there, they set sail for Goa with Antonio de Abreu, the Senior Captain, at the head, Urbano Fialho in the *Nazareth*, and Nuno de Mello in *S. Joao* after various disputes among the Captains, as all wished to take the first place, which is the cause of their own and our ruin.

14. Com amplexo e broquel.

15. A Portuguese soldier by mistake cut the wrong cordage.

As soon as the news of the coming of the galleons was known in Ceylon, the General, thinking that they would come to Galle as they had to do, and foreseeing that, when the ships were there, the enemy could send reinforcements only by land, ordered our army to approach Galle in order to impede it; but those of the army seeing the delay, especially because they had no food for several days, returned to Negombo; but the Hollanders of Calleture, knowing the state in which they were, set out to meet them at the very time when the galleons were battling; and such were our soldiers that, though tired in body, they were not at all so in spirit, and fought kneeling and sitting.¹⁶ In this encounter the enemy lost 200 men, and of ours there died only 7 or 8; but as our men were so enfeebled, they could not follow up their victory; and the Hollanders, in order not to lose Galle, which they knew was our objective, abandoned Calleture, a strong place which they had well fortified, and leaving the guns and other things, and cutting down the bridges so as not to be followed, retired to Galle.

In Colombo they asked the Captains of the galleons to go round to Negombo where it was known the number of the Hollanders did not reach fifty; and they were removing the guns to retire with the rest, and if the galleons had been seen making for that port, they would undoubtedly have done so, but as the Captains of the galleons did not comply with the request, nothing was done. The Dissavas or Captains of the Comarcas informed the General that the Hollanders had retired to Galle and asked him to make himself master of the country, which he could have done by occupying the rivers, but either for lack of provisions or of determination nothing was done, though everybody clamoured for it. Some Hollanders fled to us from Negombo, others died of hunger, and there remained only 20. The natives of the country and prisoners offered us the town, but, in spite of many importunities, the General could not be persuaded to send a squadron, at the mere sight of which they would have surrendered.

All these misfortunes were due to the death of Antonio Barreto Pereira, who had nothing so much at heart as to attack Galle, (though he had no *regimento* for it), and thus to have done with the Hollanders in Ceylon once for all. In Ceylon we had good soldiers and he himself brought 900 men in his galleons, and 780 of the *matricula* only, but as God has not yet ceased chastising India, greater misfortunes came upon us from the very quarters from which we expected success. For the Hollanders set sail from Surrate with 11 sail well equipped and after a few days stay in Achara, where news however uncertain was not wanting, they temerarily despatched northwards the fleet of trading ships (*cafilia*) accompanied by a few ships of the armada, which being ill provided made its way to Chaul to winter; and getting sight of the enemy, many of them without further ado made for the coast with sail and oars, leaving the merchant ships to their fate, Joao Sarmento the chief not being strong enough to oblige them to follow them, though several times he faced a *patacho* and some *lanchus*, which were the only ones to pursue him, the Baneneas having no judgment in these matters.

Finally, there were some 40 barques on the coast, and some of the trading ships escaped. The enemy burnt most of them and the goods, so as not to be delayed. Then the news reached Goa there were some who in this confusion thought of informing the galleons of it, as it was morally certain that they came to meet the enemy and could easily dodge them (*furtar a volta*) making for the sea, when they thought the contest unequal. But in the confusion counsels were many, and there being time for everything nothing was done.¹⁷

And on the 2nd May, when the enemy was in front of this bar, the first (galleon) was sighted from the Cabo da Rama; for mutual jealousy having increased among the Captains,

16. Q. 754. *Forl. Era 11 301.*

17. The whole paragraph is incoherent.

Antonio de Abreu who came in the lightest ship, without heeding that he was the chief, and without minding the information he had, that Hollanders had gone North, (for before starting from Goa it was known that some ships had sailed), dissatisfied with the proceeding of the other Captains, came ahead, and after him came Francisco Machado: and when he was in sight of the enemy, without further ado, with seven leagues of distance between them, and being able to rejoin his people, he made for Salsette and with little difficulty ran aground, though he had already received a message from the Governor, as is reported, asking him to fight promising to help him with reinforcements, which in fact he did as much as he was able to. For these proceedings I find no excuse: first, for going so far ahead of the others, however great the mutual jealousy may have been; secondly, for not turning back, being able to do so, and it being his duty to unite with the others: for after the conflict with the enemy, the ship was weak, and the guns ruined, and men few, and from its miserable condition, even though he might fight valiantly, as he could have done for some time, I am not surprised that he lost courage at the sight of eleven sail.

Captain Machado exchanged fire from 2 to 6 in the evening, and at times defied grappling, but the Hollander, who had the game in his hands and was less deflected than we, always avoided the shock. At last our ship was so much deflected from its course that, either from the bad example of the chief, or because of want of depth, she struck near the other galleon on the shore of Cannanore, where both were burnt, though the men were saved.

The enemy continued his voyage, and off Ancolla he encountered Dom Antonio and Nuno de Mello, who were a little apart from each other. In this last extremity Dom Antonio acted like a cavalier fighting with resolution half the squadron of the enemy whose two *Copilantias* fell upon the two galleons. The battle lasted the greater part of the day, and Don Antonio lost few men as he had a strong galleon made in India; and not to be thrown on shore he cast anchor and gave such a volley to one of the *Captains*, that she turned back and fled with the rest into the open sea.

The enemy, who had received much damage in the hull and masts, did not dare to grapple with Don Antonio, though more out of despair than valour he often invited it. In this extremity, being without sails, and the night far advanced and seeing no other way out of it, he threw his men into the sea, and not trusting it to another he himself set fire to the ship; but he jumped into the sea too late, for the galleon burst and carried him down, and there he died mourned by all for a *fidalg*o of great hope and a fine character.

Nuno de Mello, with his eyes on the river Mirzeu, resisted the enemy as much as he was able, and made for the bar; and the pirate, seeing that he could not get near him, put 150 of the best men he had, into the fiscal and tried to grapple with her. When she approached, the galleon gave her so well-aimed a shot, that the ship straightway burst and only five Hollanders escaped, who were picked up by our ships, which at this time came from Goa. Nuno de Mello also burnt his galleon, for which many blame him, for the enemy could not easily have attacked her except one at a time, and if he had run aground it could be refloated; for he could have foreseen that the Hollanders could not remain long on the coast, and that our ships would come to his help. At last he saved himself and his men, and afterwards it cost us much labour to rescue them from the hands of the Moors. He could easily have put them into the ships without running such a risk, but our foolhardiness was at all times the same.

While this battle was going on, the *Nazareth* had sight of the enemy with another *patacho* which they had taken, carrying reinforcements to Galle from Suratte. The galleon was unmanageable, for want of ballast it carried some guns on the prow. But such are the Portuguese that they sail about and lose sight of the enemy. I don't know how he managed to come to land where, on the 6th of May, off the heights of Onor, he met ten ships of the Hollanders, and with the same rashness as the others, knowing that those on land were our enemies and had laid seige to the fort, he fought, and being deflected from his course, cast anchor behind the islet; and trying twice to grapple with *tangedeiras*, they were on both occasions cut by the enemy who fought so successfully and merrily.

And not to afflict those who read this I end by saying that there were 200 men in the galleon who, not having land to flee to, surrendered conditionally, leaving as they say a plank in the ship, which already took so much water, that the Hollanders could not move her, and as they could not delay, she was burned by the Hollanders who landed our men at Cananor. Few of ours died in the battle, and 132 whites besides Joas Malucos, escaped to the enemy out of this fleet and according to information received this was brought about by the mutual jealousy of the Captains.

If only they had been united and had not fallen out in Ceylon, it is certain that, with the five galleons and the two ships they had captured there, they could have had an even battle on this coast if not the victory: for as the enemy carried few men, experienced people think that they would have refused battle when it came to the point, as they are in the habit of doing; moreover, though the ships were well furnished with guns, they were not like the ones that fought at this bar. Would to God that this experience were enough to teach us to mend our ways, which, however, I consider to be impossible considering our character. 18

(To be Continued.)

18. *Oq' eutenho p' impossivel em nosso natural, em qto' tudo oq'ar eulato estraer deus e q' la opora eennos ja e henha q'os ohradiss*



THE MARITIME PROVINCES OF CEYLON, 1798-1805.

NOTES ON THE REVENUE.

By L. J. B. TURNER, M.A., C.C.S.

The Pearl Fishery.

OF the sources of revenue in the years under review, that of the Pearl Fishery is probably the most interesting. We have already seen¹ that the successful fisheries of 1796 to 1798, producing a total revenue of £396,000, prevented the acquisition of the Maritime Provinces from being a loss to the East India Company, and it was to the success of the later fisheries that Mr. North looked to counterbalance the excess of expenditure over revenue which the accounts showed every year.

It is true that he was not very hopeful about his first fishery, that of 1799, and that he realised that the conditions were inauspicious.² There was a shortage of specie, as the Indian Government had taken steps to prevent it being brought from the Coast to the fishery owing to it being required in India. There was also a "scarcity of Rice approaching to a Famine," while the native capitalists, disliking the Governor's new method of selling the boats for the fishery separately by auction, instead of renting the whole fishery to one renter, had formed a general combination to keep down the bids. In addition, the banks were becoming exhausted after the fisheries of the three previous years, and all these causes combined to lower the receipts to £30,000.

There was no fishery in 1800, but, by 18th February, 1801, Mr. North had high hopes of a successful fishery that year, though it was to be only on a small scale. It was to be conducted "in aumancee," Government presumably paying the expenses of the boats, divers, &c., and collecting the profits direct, instead of renting the fishery or selling the licences to fish. Mr. North decided to supervise the arrangements in person, and much valuable information, as well as profit, was expected from the fishery.³ But the venture appears to have been a complete failure. The fishery was concluded in April, 1801, but no further particulars are available, except that "melancholy Details" were communicated to the Court of Directors in a Despatch of April, 1801, which is not forthcoming.

It is difficult to say what these "Details" were, especially as Mr. North writes Lord Wellesley a glowing account of the prospects of the fishery on 12th March, 1801.⁴ In this letter, it is stated that 110 boats went out on the 10th March, and 126 on the 11th, that there were "fine pipe oysters, divers in high glee," and apparently a considerable profit about to accrue to Government. The cause of the failure appears to have been the immaturity of the oysters, a pilot, one Daniel Rodrigo, being held specially responsible for the failure apparently in that

1. *Ceylon Antiquary*, Vol. IV. Part I, page 40.

2. Despatch of February 18, 1801, para 105.

3. Despatch of February 28, 1799, para 86.

4. *Ceylon Literary Register (Weekly)* page 301, vol. II.

he deceitfully reported the oysters as mature and the banks fit for fishing when they were not.⁶ Some profit did accrue to Government⁷ but it must have been very little.

Before the fishery of 1801, Mr. North had "the most flattering Hopes of productive Fisheries for the years 1802 and 1803," but a "Certainty . . . resulted" from the fishery of 1801 "of the suspension of any Profit from that principal Branch of the Revenue of Ceylon during the next Year."⁸

No fisheries at Aripo were accordingly held in 1802 or 1803, but the intermediate examination of the banks gave hopes of "a Series of great Fisheries . . . with very small (if any) Interruption"⁹ and the fishery of 1804 was expected to raise the revenue of the Government above its expenditure,¹⁰ by producing 20 lacs of rix dollars or £213,333.¹¹

Extensive preparations were made for this great fishery of 1804, but the examination of the banks showed that the value of the fishery would not be so great as was expected in 1802. The original method of renting the whole fishery to one renter was reverted to, and Vydalingam Chetty bid for 30 days' fishing of 150 boats at the rate of 2,000 Porto Novo pagodas per boat or 300,000 Porto Novo pagodas for the whole fishery, that is, £120,000 or 1,125,000 rix dollars with that pagoda at 45 fanams.

But several unfortunate circumstances reduced the value of the fishery considerably below this sum. Although the quality of the oysters was good, and they had arrived at perfect maturity, their numbers were disappointing, only about 3,000 per boat being obtained instead of an anticipated 10,000, owing, apparently, to storms which preceded the fishery. Stormy weather also prevailed at the end of the fishery, so that after 26 days, on only 20 of which fishing took place owing to Sundays, one feast day, and one day of bad weather, the fishing had to be abandoned. The renter accordingly applied for a rebate, and he was allowed 80,000 Porto Novo pagodas, and was only charged for the 26 days of the fishery. He had thus to pay 180,000 Porto Novo Pagodas, with an additional 8,000 pagodas which he paid for a few extra days' fishing. The total realised by Government was consequently 188,000 Porto Novo pagodas or 705,000 rix dollars. Mr. North puts the nett revenue at 700,000 rix dollars or £74,666.¹²

There was no fishery in 1805, and, though he thought one would be possible in 1806, and one was actually held, yielding £35,000, Mr. North had, by that time, been succeeded by General Maitland.

In addition to these fisheries of the main banks at Aripo, there was a small fishery on some banks at Chilaw in April, 1803. The boats were sold separately or in lots by public auction to the number of 150 for 20 days' fishing, and the profit to Government was 150,000 rix dollars or £16,000. The only other fishery which had been held here was that of 1766, yielding 15,000 rix dollars.¹³

Following is a statement of the Pearl Fisheries and their revenue from 1796 based on such data as are available in contemporary documents and in Cordiner's work:—

| | | | |
|------|----------|---------------------|---------------------------------|
| 1796 | £60,000 | Fishery at Aripo | Authority Cordiner, II. 71-2 |
| 1797 | £144,000 | | |
| 1798 | £192,000 | | |
| 1799 | £30,000 | | |

6. Despatch of December 15, 1801, para 38.

7. Despatch of October 5, 1801, para 68.

8. Despatch of September 10, 1801, para 67.

11. Despatch of October 5, 1804 (annexure).

9. *Ib.* para 37.

10. Despatch of March 18, 1803, para 81.

12. Despatch of November 12, 1802.

13. Despatch of April 20, 1803.

| | | |
|--|------------|--------------------|
| 1800 | no fishery | |
| 1801 | not known | |
| 1802 | no fishery | North's Despatches |
| 1803 | do | |
| 1804 | £66,993 | Maitland's do |
| 1805 | no fishery | |
| To these must be added the result of the fishery at Chilaw : | | |
| 1803 | £16,000 | |

Thus, the total actual revenue from this source during Mr. North's régime (1799-1805) was about £113,000 or about £16,143 per annum, which was quite insufficient to counterbalance the increased expenditure, particularly of the military establishment. In February, 1805, Mr. North put the expenditure at a minimum of £430,000, and the revenue at about £300,000, £36,000 being estimated to be contributed by the pearl fishery, £64,000 by cinnamon, and £200,000 by other sources. "This Calculation is, as it ought to be, rather below what we have a Right to expect, but the constant succession of physical misfortunes which I have witnessed here, has disposed me to consider in a less sanguine Temper than I did the Resources of this extraordinary Country."¹³

Cinnamon.

Owing to the importance of cinnamon as a source of revenue, we find considerable space in the Despatches devoted to that subject and the principles of its control explained. The Dutch had placed the greatest importance on this branch of their revenue, and had erected the trade into a Government monopoly, which was enforced with the greatest rigour. The selling or giving away a single stick, the export, the peeling of cinnamon without the authority of Government, the wilful injury of cinnamon plants, were offences punishable with death.¹⁴ As there was apparently no other source of supply, a high price—Marshall¹⁵ says 11s. 6d. per pound—was fixed, and a large profit made. In order that the price might not fall, the quantity produced in excess of what was supposed to be the world's demand—5,000 bales of 80 pounds each—is said to have been burnt.

The British succeeded to this monopoly with the other possessions ceded by the Dutch, and it never seems to have been their intention, at that time, to relax any of the restrictions. The Committee of Investigation recommend "a rigid monopoly," and Mr. North states: "My great object will be to secure your monopoly of this article without danger of Contraband, but by no means to increase the production of it, beyond the annual amount of Five Thousand bales, for being in its nature a luxury, and not tending in any manner to increase its Consumption by its Quantity like Grain or Common Provision, the only Consequence of the too great abundance of it, would be that it would get into the hands of those, who would venture for the immense profit it would afford to brave the vigilance of the severest laws, and perhaps succeed in underselling you in all the markets of the world the cinnamon laws enacted by the Dutch (though perhaps of a severer nature than your temperate and philanthropic Ideas of Legislation would allow you to enact) ought, in my opinion, to be kept up, at least for some time, as they are admirably Calculated to make the possession of a cinnamon tree, a real Curse to the persons on whose property it grows, and of Course, to make Individuals desirous of leaving the entire possession of that valuable Commodity to the State"¹⁶

13. Despatch of February 8, 1805.
16. Despatch of October 27, 1798.

14. Berriolacci, page 201.

15. Page 28.

So alarmed, indeed, has Mr. North been represented to have been that an increased production would entail a fall in price, that it is stated that he directed most of the Government gardens to be sold on the condition that all the cinnamon should be forthwith rooted out,¹⁷ but this statement would appear to be based on a misunderstanding of measures adopted by the Governor with entirely different objects in view.

Formerly, the cinnamon crop was collected in a wild state in the forests of the Kandyan Provinces, but in the time of the Dutch Governor Falk it was discovered that it could be cultivated and Government gardens were planted and encouraged by his successor, Governor Van der Graaf. Governor Angelbeek is, however, stated by the Committee of Investigation to have neglected the gardens, and closer attention to them is recommended.

By 1800, Mr. North had developed a scheme to improve the conditions of the collection of cinnamon by reducing the number of scattered gardens, of which there appear to have been very many between Chilaw and Matara. These were to be replaced by one or two large, compact, plantations, which, by strict attention to cultivation, could be made to yield the required supply. The gardens no longer required were to put into other products, the cinnamon being rooted out, the cuttings to be converted into cinnamon oil, and the roots into camphor.¹⁸

The advantages of this system were obvious. A saving in the cost of collection is the first, and Mr. North expects to reduce the expense of the Cinnamon Department to about £4,000 chiefly by reduction of the amount of labour, no doubt. The quantity of the annual investment is not to be affected, as the intensive cultivation of the selected gardens will keep up the supply. Greater security against contraband is likely to be effected, while a great quantity of land and labour will be available for the cultivation of other products, chiefly rice.¹⁹

Two gardens were selected for the execution of this scheme, the already existing garden of "Marendahn," and a new one at Kadirane, near Negombo. The former was the largest of those previously in existence, measuring upwards of 12 miles round²⁰ and extending to within half a mile of the Fort of Colombo.²¹ It was improved by having a dyke built round it to keep out cattle, and it was proposed to acquire all the private lands in the vicinity. This proposal was, however, apparently postponed pending a decision on a suggestion from the Superintendent of Cinnamon Plantations, Mr. Jenville, to exchange the Maradana garden for one at Kadirane.²² This suggestion was apparently approved, at least in part, for later in the year we find that Mr. North anticipates that the two gardens of Marendahn and Kadirane, which is even more extensive than Marendahn, will, in 5 years, produce twice the annual consumption of the world, and that it will be possible to give up a large part of the gardens at Marendahn, Moratuwa and Ekele, near Negombo.²³

In 1802, on the assumption of the Government of the Maritime Provinces by the Crown, a new arrangement as to the disposal of the cinnamon "investment" was come to. Up to that time, the revenue had been at the disposal of the East India Company, and the cinnamon investment had been despatched direct to London in the "cinnamon ships" to the address of the Hon'ble Court of Directors.²⁴ But, when the Government was taken over by the Crown the cinnamon investment passed from the hands of the Company to those of the Crown. It was, however, decided that the Company was to retain the cinnamon monopoly, and an agreement was entered into between His Majesty's Government and the Court of Directors of the

17. Marshall, page 16.

18. Despatch of October 5, 1801, para 76.

21. Fernald, first edition, page 387.

23. Despatch of October 5, 1801, para 75.

19. Despatch of January 20, 1800, para 22.

22. Despatch of February 18, 1801, para 119.

24. Despatch of March 8, 1799.

20. Ordiner, I, 115.

the East India Company that the latter were to receive annually 400,000 lbs. English of cinnamon at 3s. per lb. the Government being credited at Madras with the total £60,000.²⁴ It was apparently also agreed that profits over 5% were to be placed to the credit of Ceylon.²⁵

From 1st January, 1802, Mr. North was, therefore, to supply 400,000 lbs. of cinnamon, or about 4,324½ bales at 92½ lbs. each.²⁶ There were, however, several reasons why he could not supply the full investment. The gardens all over the country had been exhausted after the previous crops, while the abolition of service tenures and the resumption of accomodations by the Proclamation of 3rd September, 1801, had disorganised the Cinnamon Department which depended largely on the service labour of the cinnamon peelers.²⁷ In addition, Mr. North had misunderstood the instructions of the Court of Directors of 10th September, 1800, ordering him to suspend the next year's investment. As these instructions were received in March, 1801, Mr. North appears to have taken "next year's investment" to mean that of 1802. All the cinnamon in store—3225 bales—were sent off soon after the receipt of the instructions in March, 1802, and orders were given for the suspension of the investment of 1802. It was not till September, 1801, that the Governor heard of the contract for 400,000 lbs to be supplied to the Company, and he had considerable difficulty in carrying it out. 3000 bales were, however, procured from the Kandyan territories; 800 were procured from the exhausted gardens, and there were 500 in store. But, apparently, many of the bales were rejected, as Mr. North does not expect to be able to supply the whole quantity²⁸ and the actual investment was, in fact, 3679 bales of 92½ lbs.²⁹

The official figures of the investments are 1802—3679 bales; 1803—2680; 1804—2678; 1805—2469; 1806—4166; 1807—4850³⁰ showing that Mr. North gave short delivery of 33% on the annual contract with the East India Company for the supply of 4324½ lbs. Bertolacci, it is true, supports Marshall in his explanation of the shortage, suggesting that "too warm a desire of seeing the plan (of more concentrated cultivation) accomplished, and an unguarded anticipation of it, perhaps, induced the granting leave too soon, in some instances, to the holders of the land to destroy the plant, which they looked upon as a hindrance to their prosperity."³¹ But the Despatch of 28th. February, 1806, makes no mention of the cutting out as a cause of the shortage, and, while pointing out that, so far from the supply being twice the demand, it amounts to about half the amount of the contract, attributes the shortage to different causes. The first is that, although the East India Company was represented by an Agent who freely rejected cinnamon as not up to standard, the Crown had no representative to check the fairness of the rejections. The second was that the abolition of service tenures had made labour so difficult to get that the projected improvements to the principal gardens had only been carried out in part or not at all.

It is, however, to be noted that the East India Company—extraordinary as it may appear—made no complaints of the short delivery, and continued to place to the credit of the Ceylon Government the whole of the £60,000 agreed upon in the contract. The Board of Revenue suggests that the reason for this was that the quantity received by the Company was sufficient to meet the world's demands, and that the freight provided by the Company was inadequate for the transport of the whole investment agreed upon.³² The increase in the investment obtained

24. Despatch of December 15, 1801, para 46.

25. Despatch of March 16, 1802, para 60.

26. Despatch of December 15, 1801, para 60, seems to make a bale equal to 87 lbs.

28. 26.

27. Despatch of December 10, 1801.

29. Despatch of February 28, 1806, Bertolacci page 241, Marshall page 1.

30. Same Despatch, Bertolacci, Marshall.

31. Page 251.

32. Despatch of February 28, 1802.

by Governor Maitland appears to have been due to his tacit resumption of service tenures, and to his persuading the Mudaliyars of the Cinnamon Department to cultivate cinnamon on their own account.

The cinnamon which was baled for export to England consisted of the bark of shoots three to five feet long, separated from the shoot in entire slips of the width of about half the circumference of the shoot. The epidermis was peeled off, and the piece dried in the sun, the heat of which caused it to curl up. The smaller cylinders were inserted within the larger so as to make almost solid rods which were again tied into bundles.

As the average produce of a peeler's labour in a month was 37 to 50 pounds of cinnamon, ⁴⁴ about 2000 to 2500 peelers would be required to work for 4 months to make up the investment of 400,000 pounds; and for the regulation of the work a distinct Cinnamon Department had been established by the Dutch, and continued by the British. The head of this department was the "Captain Canella" or "Cinnamon Captain" under the Dutch, and the Commercial Resident under the British. Under him came various headmen: a Mudaliyar and Muhandiram, who worked immediately under the Superintendent; Mudaliyars and Muhandirams, divided into two classes, who supervised the work in the gardens, and who superintended the cinnamon peelers in their villages and regulated the internal police of the caste, respectively. The actual work was done by the cinnamon peelers, and some other less important castes.

Under the Dutch and early British rule, the Cinnamon peelers had grants of land, called *accommodesans*, in return for their services as well as other privileges, besides receiving 1½ parrahs of rice at 44 lbs. per parrah, and 7½ fanams per month. On the abolition of *accommodesans* in 1801, they were to receive 4 parrahs of salt at 3½ fanams per parrah of 54-56 lbs. per annum, and they were to be free from ferry taxes, and from the necessity of having passports for their donies. As regular pay, they were to receive 3 rix dollars and a parrah of rice each month. The headmen of districts were paid 25 to 75 rix dollars per month. The "Maharale" and the two "Codadoreas" who superintended 50 peelers, were paid 15 dollars and 5 parrahs of rice, and 9 rix dollars and 3 parrahs respectively. From each district, a certain amount of cinnamon ready for the market was required from the cinnamon peelers each year. ⁴⁵

It is interesting to note that the first hint of the ultimate fate of Ceylon cinnamon appears in Mr. North's Despatch of 20th April, 1803. Even by that time the "bastard cinnamon of China," or the *cassia lignea*, had begun to be preferred on account of its cheapness, although the returns of the export of Ceylon cinnamon, or the price paid for it, do not show any appreciable decline for several years later. The monopoly was abolished in 1833, but before that, the price must have been considerably affected by the competition of the Java cinnamon, and the *cassia*, the appearance of which exploded two of the theories of the monopolists that cinnamon could grow nowhere else than in Ceylon, and that the price could be held practically at any figure the monopolists desired.

The receipts from the pearl fishery and the revenue from cinnamon form the principal items of what Bertolacci calls the "First Branch, not derived from Taxation." The others are not of equal interest or importance, and need be only briefly noticed.

44. Despatch of November 24, 1802, para 148.

45. Bertolacci 220, Gordon I 455 ff., *Ceylon Literary Register* (Weekly), Vol. V, page 281.

Chank Fishery.

Of them, the least unimportant is the Chank fishery. The chank is a sea shell, which is sawed into rings to be worn as ornaments by women in India. In Bengal, there is a "religious prejudice" in favour of chanks for the purpose of burying them with the dead, a prejudice which creates and maintains a large demand.

The chanks are collected by divers in the same way as pearl oysters, but in much shallower water. According to Bertolacci, there were three kinds of chanks, the "*patty*" with a short flat head, found north of a line about half way between Talaimanaar and Canangally and paid for to the divers at the rate of 13½ rix dollars per 1000; the "*pajel*" with a longer and more pointed head, found south of that line, and paid for at 16 2/4 rix dollars per 1,000; the "*wallampory*," or right-handed chanks, which were very rare and were paid for at the rate of 20 rix dollars upwards each.

The right to fish for chanks was farmed out by Government and produced the following amounts: 1795-6: 19,850 rix dollars (sold before the capitulation of Jaffna); 1796-7: 22,250; 1797-8: 22,250; 1798-9: 30,050; 1799-1800: 41,100; 1800-1: 51,500; 1801-2: 35,400 (for 8 months); 1802-3: 41,500; 1803-4: 27,500; 1804-5 to 1805-7: 91,400 (in one contract). In 1803, an export duty of 5% was levied on chanks, yielding about 5,000 rix dollars per annum.²⁶

Choya Root.

Choya root is a source of revenue which is frequently mentioned in the *Jaffna Diary*. It is used for dyeing, giving a fine red colour. It grew wild, and was collected by a special caste of choya root diggers who delivered their collections to Government, and were paid at the rate of 75 to 80 rix dollars per candy of 500 lbs. The Government sold the root at about 175 rix dollars per candy, which, with about 10% deduction for commission, dryage, baling, left about 27,000 rix dollars annual revenue to Government.

Among the others sources of the "First Branch" of the revenue were sale of elephants, profits of the stud at Delft, and of the sale of the *Government Gazette*.

Although the head of "Land Rents" has been seen to be a subject of great importance and general interest, that of "Sea Customs" was of greater value from the revenue point of view, contributing more than any other head to the "Second Branch" of revenue, that is, that derived from taxation. This customs revenue consisted of duties on exports and duties on imports, of which we may notice the former first, as bringing in the higher revenue.

A complete tariff of a slightly later period than that with which we are now dealing will be found in Bertolacci's work,²⁷ but it is not proposed to go into the subject here in such detail, partly for want of space and partly as it is a matter of great difficulty to collect the particulars for the years 1798 to 1805. We may, however, note the details of the duties on arrack, arecanut, and tobacco.

Arrack.

The principal markets for Ceylon arrack were Madras, Bombay, and the Malabar and Coromandel coasts, where it was required for supplying the Army and Navy as well as native consumers.²⁸ In 1806, it cost in Ceylon about 80 rix dollars per leaguer of 150 gallons or 75 "wett." Adding 25 rix dollars for the barrel for shipment, we get the general figure of 105 rix dollars. In Madras, it sold for about 34 star pagodas or say, 136 rix dollars per leaguer. The export duty had been fixed by the Committee of Investigation at 8 rix dollars

²⁶ Bertolacci, 231.

²⁷ Ib. 410 ff.

²⁸ Ib. 151.

per leaguer.³⁹ In 1806 Sir Thomas Maitland proposed to increase this duty by one-third, as the cost for export had risen to 150 rix dollars owing to the increasing premium on Government bills, then at 18 3/4%. Some 5000 leaguers were exported annually to India.

Besides being a source of customs revenue, it may be noted here that the retail vend in Ceylon, which was farmed out to renters, as it is now, was a source of revenue which was classified under "Licences." The retail price was about 6 stuivers per quart, say 36 stuivers or 1s. 6d. per gallon, as against the price in 1920 of about Rs. 12 to 16. The amount of revenue collected from the arrack rents of 1798 to 1805 is not reported. The customs revenue in 1806 was some 40,000 odd rix dollars.

It may be noted here that Mr. North's regulation of the consumption—what would now be called his excise policy—appears to have been based on varying principles. Early in 1799, his intention was to discourage the consumption of arrack for the benefit of the health of the troops and of the lower classes of the inhabitants.⁴⁰ He thought that toddy was "fatal to the Health & Morals of the People" and proposed to tax trees tapped for toddy.⁴¹ But by the end of 1802, he appears to have abandoned these views, writing that "the Arrack Farms have increased in value, and been considerably extended; and I hope shortly to be able to introduce them into every Part of these Settlements." The Despatches do not disclose the reason for the change.

Arecanut

Arecanut was a more important revenue producing item than arrack. These nuts, while being largely used in Ceylon for chewing with betel leaf and lime, were in considerable demand in India on account of their good quality. The rates were calculated by the amunam of 8 parrahs, consisting of 24,000 dry nuts or 30,000 fresh ones, and weighing 278 to 290 lbs. English. The greater part of the supply was collected in Kandyan territory at 6 to 7 rix dollars per amunam, being sold for export at about 15 rix dollars. The Committee of Investigation had fixed the duty at 10 rix dollars per annum, but this was lowered by Mr. North to 7 1/2.⁴² The suggestion was apparently made later by the Secretary of State to raise it to 10 but it is not clear if that was done.⁴³ In 1802, a differential duty was imposed on cut and uncut nuts, the former paying 5%, the latter nearly 80%. In 1809, the same duty of 10 rix dollars per amunam was imposed on both the uncut, mature, nut and on that which was plucked when green, and dried in the sun.

Tobacco

In some years, tobacco brought in an even greater customs revenue than arecanut. It was grown in the Jaffna Peninsula, and most of it bought for the Raja of Travancore who had a profitable monopoly in his dominions. About 3,000 candelies of the weight of 500 lbs. English were taken annually by his agents, 1,500 going to Sumatra, and 350 to various parts of Ceylon, chiefly Galle. The purchase of the tobacco for Travancore and Sumatra was generally effected with gold Porto Novo Pagodas to the extent of about 125,000 to 140,000. This gold, after being in circulation in Jaffna from about August to February, was paid out to the Coromandel Coast for rice and cloth.

As the agents of the Raja were purchasers of more than 3/5 of the crop, they easily controlled the price, which was, of course, a very disadvantageous one for the Jaffna cultivator.

39. *Ceylon Library Register* (1884), II, 154.

40. Despatch of February 27, 1799, para 80.

41. Despatch of January 20, 1800, para 26.

42. Despatch of February 17, 1800, para 87.

43. Despatch of February 28, 1802, para 100.

Government attempted to remedy this unsuccessfully; first, by an increase of duty, and then by the creation of a counter monopoly, but the examination of these steps is beyond our present scope.

In 1798 the duty on the first sort of tobacco was 7 rix dollars per candy, being raised in that year to rds. 9 ls. 9 by Major Barbut. It was, however, lowered by Mr. North to $7\frac{1}{2}$ rix dollars on the merchants' representation that notice had been given in 1796 that trade would be free of duty except on spices.⁴⁴

The other items of export—woods, planks and timber, palmyras, pepper, coffee, cardamom, coir, copra, jaggery, &c.—do not call for separate treatment. Nor do the items of import—cloth, European, China and India goods. It may be noted that, taken together, the export duties furnished four to five times the amount of revenue derived from the imports, in spite of the fact that the balance of trade was always against Ceylon, and the excess of imports grew steadily. Bertolacci points out that the collection of a greater revenue from exports than from imports was contrary to the policy of the day, and queries the soundness of the latter on the ground that high import duties mean rise in price to home consumers while export duties are paid by the foreign buyers.⁴⁵

The Land Customs produced about $\frac{1}{6}$ of the amount of revenue derived from the Sea Customs, and are divided by Bertolacci into 4 sub-heads: land pass duties, ferry and canal tolls, stamps on cloth, and the bazaar tax.

The land pass duties were taxes of 5% to $7\frac{1}{2}$ % on the value of goods imported or exported into or from the various provinces and formed a great impediment to trade and commerce, being especially mischievous as the collection was farmed out, and there existed no fixed tariff of rates.

The ferry and canal taxes were not equally objectionable as it was right that Government should be recouped for the expense of construction and maintenance,⁴⁶ but Bertolacci says that the renting out of them is bad, leading to unsatisfactory work and inconvenience to travellers.

"Joy Tax"

Of the new sources of revenue introduced by Mr. North the most important was the "Joy Tax" instituted by the Proclamation of 1st April, 1800. "Whereas it is our wish that the contributions necessary for the maintenance of the State should fall as lightly as possible on the People of these Settlements, and be levied rather upon luxuries, than upon the necessities of Life, we have determined to farm out a Tax on Joys and Ornaments."⁴⁷

The tax is one rix dollar or 48 stuivers for each male and half that for each female, young or old, slaves not excepted, for licence to wear ornaments of "Gold, Silver or other Metal, Stone, Pearl, Ivory, Glass, Coral, Shank, or Bone."

The tax is to be farmed by renters who, on payment, will give a licence and receipt. Anyone wearing "joys" without a licence is to be liable to a fine of ten rix dollars in the Fiscal's court, half to be given to the informer and half to the Diacony, an institution to care for the poor.⁴⁸ The head of a family is to pay two rix dollars for all his family. All officers "Civil and Military in the service of his Majesty, of the Honorable East India Company

44. *Ceylon Literary Register (Weekly)*, II 174.

45. *Legislative Acts*, Vol. I.

46. Page 231.

47. *Bertolacci*, 180.

48. On Monday given to the Diacony all fines imposed by the Police and the Court of Equity, a provisional court instituted by him for a village between Europeans or Eurasians and natives. The Diacony also received the stamp value of 18 stuivers from every petition, petitions being received by the Governor from 2 to 12 a.m. every Tuesday and Saturday. Letter of October 27, *Ceylon Literary Register (Weekly)*, II 218.

of England, of the late Dutch East India Company, and of the Government of Ceylon, together with all Privates, European as well as Native, in the Land and Sea service, with their Wives and Children" as well as headmen are exempted, in so far as badges may be marks of their offices "but no farther."

The imposition of the tax met with a considerable amount of opposition which was probably due, at least in part, to the First Adigar's intrigues, Mr. North having "evidence on oath that the Adigar had at the same time attempted to cause a revolt at Colombo, with assurances of co-operation from Kandy."⁴⁹ On 6th June, 1800, Mr. North writes of "some small disturbance against imposition on Joys and Jewels which obliged me to make small detachments of native troops in various parts of the Island. I am confident they will be allayed without bloodshed as soon as the light and equitable nature of the tax is generally understood."

On 15th June "discontents about tax still exist, but chief promoters of them absconded from Negombo where they raged with violence yesterday. I sent thither 2 companies of the 19th last night who will then proceed to quell disturbances of Manaar. Directed Lieut-Colonel Barbut to rigorously examine conduct of native chiefs in Province of Manaar". By 1st, July the late disturbances were "quite settled. Some insurgents taken, 2 killed in skirmishes. All country submitted. Ringleaders will surrender shortly before they are outlawed", and on 18th Mr. North writes: "My rioters are routed, dispersed and quiet", while by 30th July the public mind was "becoming good again. All declare they have no objection to the Joy tax which they think light and equitable, but are afraid Government will double it every year as the Dutch did the sullivan". The "unanimity of my military Magistrates have made me easy concerning all that passed in Jaffna and at Matura" (July 1st.)

The revenue anticipated from the tax is put by Mr. North at 2 lacs for 1801, the financial year for purposes of the tax beginning in May.

The "Uliyam,"

Another new source of revenue, or rather the revival of an old one, was the collection of the uliyam, or capitation tax from Moormen. Under the Dutch, this was a kind of poll-tax of 12 rix dollars per head, said to be levied in lieu of personal service. The collection of this tax was, however, discontinued by the Madras Administration shortly after the occupation of the Maritime Provinces, and Mr. North did not see his way to start the collection, as he considered the tax "both oppressive and disgraceful."⁵⁰

The Secretary of State did not, however, accept Mr. North's opinion. He pointed out that, as a commutation of personal labour, there was nothing disgraceful in the tax,⁵¹ and suggested that the tax should be collected again with such modifications as the Governor might think necessary.⁵² This suggestion was acted upon by Mr. North, and his Proclamation of 2nd. December, 1802, laid down that Moormen might purchase for 4 rix dollars for six months a licence exempting them from the liability to be called out to labour for payment under the Proclamation of 3rd. May, 1800. Several licences appear to have been taken out, but the war with Kandy made the Moormen's service more valuable than the commutation, and the licence duty for 1803 was remitted, wholly or in part.⁵³

49. Tumour II 31 of, letters about his date in the *Ceylon Literary Register* (Weekly) Vol. II.
50. Despatch of February 26, 1796, para 40.
51. Despatch of March 12, 1801.
52. Despatch of May 1, 1801.
53. Despatch of January 1, 1804, para 62.

Salt.

The supply of salt from the pans in various parts of Ceylon had always been in the hands of the Government, but the monopoly was not a strict one on account of the practice of paying the collectors of the salt one half of the salt collected. This was, however, altered, probably to prevent salt going to Kandy during the war,⁵⁵ and the whole crop was given over to the Government salt agent at $1\frac{3}{4}$ to 4 fanams per parrah of 55 lbs. The retail price varied from 1 to $1\frac{1}{2}$ rix dollars, and the cost to Government was said to be about 35% of that sum.⁵⁶

Rice.

No economic survey of the Maritime Provinces at this time would be complete without a reference to the supply of the staple foodstuff of their inhabitants—rice. In former times, the Island not only supplied its own wants, but was able to send large quantities of rice to the Coast.⁵⁷ The District of Batticaloa—a desert during the period under review—had sufficient surplus rice, during the administration of M. Burnand under the Dutch, to supply the large garrison of Trincomalee, and to export to Galle and Jaffna. But in Mr. North's time the minimum requirements of the Maritime Provinces necessitated the importation from India of 50,000 to 63,000 bags.

The year 1799 was a year of famine, and the utmost distress was apparently narrowly averted.⁵⁸ The price per bag in Colombo was 11 Arcot rupees.⁵⁹ "I have asked Captains Burnaby and Chance to get under 20,000 bags for (from) Madras at Rs. 8 a bag." In March, mention is made of an offer "by a good house here of a ship of 11,000 tons to be freighted for 4000 pagodas a month entirely at disposal of my Government. I would make 3 voyages a year to Bengal. Each voyage to bring 15,000 bags. Thus each bag could be sold here at no loss for 7 Arcot Rs. and at a profit at 8 Arcot Rs."⁶⁰

The conditions improved in the following years, and, by March, 1802, improved supplies, chiefly owing to private enterprise, brought the price in the bazaar down to 6 rix dollars per bag of 164 lbs. weight.⁶¹ But by March, 1805, famine conditions were again prevailing, and large and costly imports on Government account were necessary to avert grave distress. The quantity imported and its cost are not reported. Later the cost was put at over £100,000 annually.⁶²

In these circumstances it naturally occurred to the officials of the day to make some attempt to improve the supply of Ceylon grown rice, the largest scheme undertaken being the reclamation of some 6,000 acres of the Mutturajavila marsh between the Kelani River and the Lake of Negombo.⁶³ The suggestion was, apparently, made first by Gavin Hamilton, Collector of Colombo, in his letter of 17th. June, 1801.

The difficulties were considerable; the salt water of the Negombo Lake had to be kept out, and fresh water for cultivation had to be let in; dykes and canals had to be constructed, and a fall of water was wanted for mills to beat the paddy into rice. Advantage was taken of

55. Despatch of October 5, 1804.

56. Bertolacci 10: 6.

57. Despatch of February 26, 1799, para. 84.

58. Letter of January 15, 1799 in Wellesley MSS, *Ceylon Literary Register Weekly*, Vol. II.

59. *Ibid.*, p. 346.

60. Despatch of March 18, 1802, para. 106. The rix dollar may be taken as about equal to 2s. sterling.

61. Despatch of February 21, 1806.

62. *Ceylon Literary Register (Weekly)*, II, 86. Here, and in the preceding pages a very full account of the Mutturajavila scheme is given.

63. A full account of the scheme is given in the *Ceylon Literary Register (Weekly)*, Vol. II, p. 35 (and related pages).

the remains of Dutch works which had been constructed for the same purpose by G. L. de Costa, Disava of Colombo in 1767, and work was begun at Jaala and Pamunugama about 21st August, 1802, and carried on till 31st January, 1803, at a cost of 45,483 rix dollars.

The outbreak of the war with Kandy interrupted the work, and it was not till January, 1804, that its recommencement was considered. An estimate of 60,599 rix dollars was drawn up to complete the work, but, on looking fully into the matter, the Board of Revenue reported against the continuation of the work, and the Governor agreed that it was, at least, a matter which should be postponed till the war with Kandy was over, and till funds became available. This was the end of the Maturājavila Scheme, and the solution of the rice problem was left to itself.

"That the quantity of Rice produced in the Island is so insufficient for the wants of its Inhabitants is unquestionably an Evil of the greatest magnitude to remedy which every exertion of Government should be employed, but it does not appear that this deficiency arises from any want of ground or soil. The scarcity and dearness of Rice in Ceylon is occasioned by the improper mode of culture and by the poverty and indolence of the Natives who, from being long subjected to a systematic and continued oppression from the Dutch and from their own Headmen, had become Poor, abject and Indolent. We have little doubt, but that the improved system of collecting the Revenue under your Excellency's administration and the perfect security, which is now extended to the lowest order of People against oppression, will in time produce their natural Effect, and introduce among the Inhabitants a knowledge of the value of time and labour, by which alone a Nation can become rich and independent of foreign assistance." **

But the rice question was not to be solved by mere theorising, and it still remains one of the outstanding problems for the administrators of Ceylon.

** Ibid.



ANTIQUITIES IN THE SOUTHERN PROVINCE.

DIARY OF THE LATE MR. E. R. AYRTON.

(Archæological Commissioner of Ceylon.)

WITH NOTES BY JOHN M. SENAVERATNA.

(Continued from Vol. VI, Page 47.)

SINIGAMA DĀGABA.

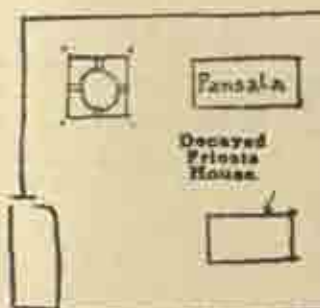
26-2-14: Went along Colombo road N. of Hikkaduwa to 59½m. then branched off east app ¼m. to village of *Sinigama* (all this district app. to road). Here on flat top of a gravel hill is a *dāgaba* standing on a square marked with a pillar at each corner and four flower altars. The priest thinks it was rebuilt by villagers. In 1878 it was ruined. There is no tradition.

H. P. T. Sanghānanda, Amarapura. Two shoulders. Sick. Did not see him. 2nd P. T. Sugunatissa.

φ. to 2^d priest

Dāgaba

New Priest's House

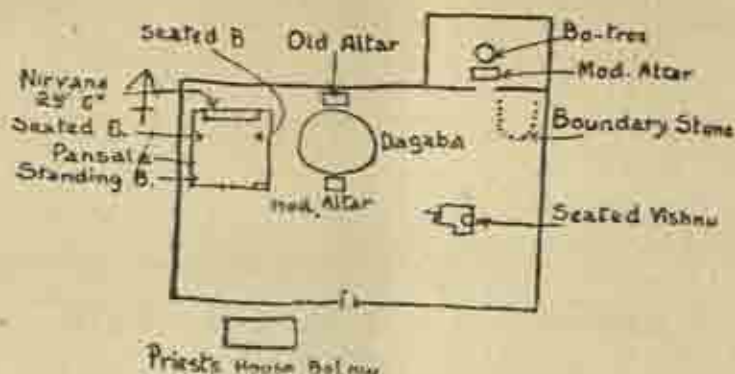


Nothing of interest.

KOTAGAMUWA (? TOTAGAMUWA) VIHĀRE.


Before going to Sinigama went to small vihare just outside Hikkaduwa to N off Colombo road to a vihare called the *Totagamuwa V.* or *Kotagamuwa V.*

H. P. Siridhammacāriya Panya Tissa, Amarapura. Two shoulders. Came 37 years ago, found a ruined *dāgaba* 26 cubits high and rebuilt it present style 37 cu. high. Not yet quite finished. Old altar slab lies on north side. 8 years spent in building the *dāgaba*. Some old inscriptions have been collected and buried inside. Bo-tree and altar. The Bo was brought from Peraliya to the north, south of Telwatta. Stones have been set up to mark off a *pōya-ge* boundary 16 years ago. 2440 B.V.



The priest says that a priest from here restored the Telwatta Vihāre to the North.

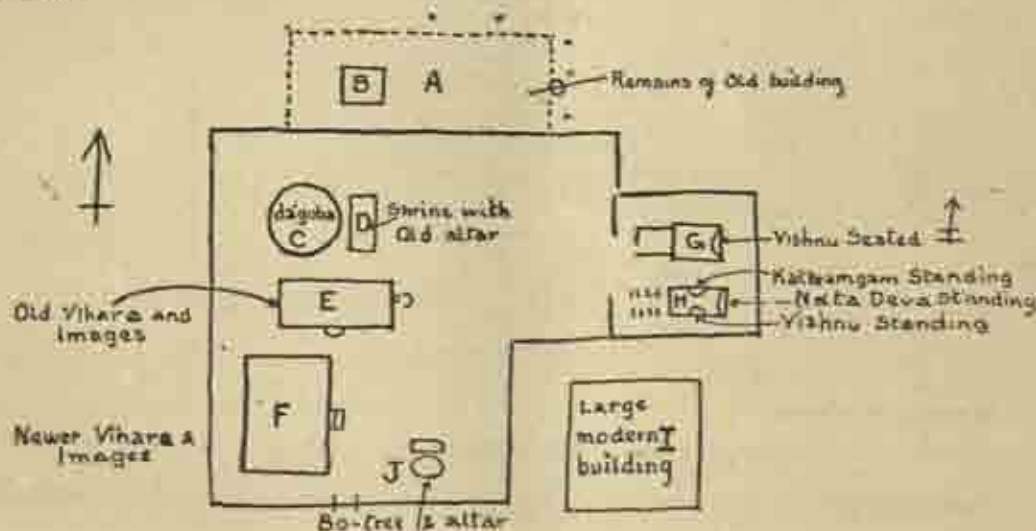
On the altar before the Vishnu are flat silver snakes on a drum of silk as

an offering  for recovery from disease.

Went on along Colombo Road to Telwatta (58½ miles) and then off about ½ m. to the east along *pin para* to the

RATPAL OR TOTAGAMUWA VIHARE.


In an enclosure stand a *dāgaba*, two image Vihāres, a Vishnu *dévāle*, Nāta *dévāle*, and Bo tree, and outside the remains of a large *pōya-ge* and a small house on top and a modern one.



The 1887 List says: "The *Dāgaba* is said to have been built by King Vijaya Bāhu (C). There are also stone pillars, five in one place marking the boundaries of the building used as the *pirivena* called Vijaya Bāhu Pirivena (A), and *pōya-ge*, by the priest Totagamuwa Sri Rāhula Sthavira in 1415, and seven in another place marking the boundaries of the Nāta *dévāle*

(H). In four of these seven pillars there are inscriptions, so effaced now that they cannot be read. There is also a large number of stone slabs on the site of the Vijaya Báhu Pirivena (A), and also one slab, 9ft. long 4ft. broad, with lilies engraved on it, placed near the *dágaba*, for the purpose of offering flowers" (in D).

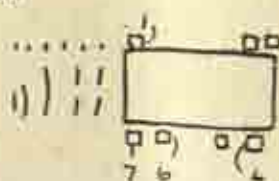
The H. P. says that the whole place was restored 150 years ago but has been restored about three times. In B. V. 1958 by the Totagamuwa priest Sri Ráhula since whose time it has been also known as the *Ratpal Viháre* (= *raja pemini* or 500 Rahats) in the time also of Parákrama Báhu of Kotté.

On a rough step of the north entrance of Viháre (F) is the inscription  (or) 

in late characters.

In (D) a modern altar shrine is a large granite slab carved on the upper surface with open lotuses and with petals around the edge of old work.

(H) Of the seven huge rough pillars set up to mark the ground where the Nāta Dévāle now stands, 4 have short inscriptions.



1 is the only legible one and reads :—

8 5 2 2 8
C 4 8 4 8 4 4
4 8 4

4 has :—

8 5 2 2 8
2 2 C 1 2 2 2

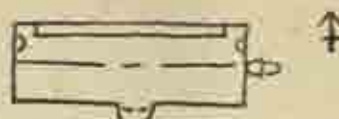
In the Nāta dévāle (H) :—Nāta déva stands in stucco and brick at the east end. High head dress with a small seated Buddha painted on the front. A long scarf over left shoulder down to right hip. One (right) hand raised palm out, left hand down palm out. *Vāhana*, an elephant.

Siva with usual attributes of stag and trident is painted on N. of Nāta on same wall and Ganesha + rat standing on other side.

In raised stucco and brick on N. wall is Kattragam. *Vāhana*, peacock. Six arms on each side and six heads. On south wall raised stands Vishnu and parrot *Vāhana*.

Sumana also appears painted with high peaked head dress, lotus in right and pomegranate in left hand. *Vāhanz*, an elephant and same scarf as Nāta-deviyo.

E. A rather ancient Vihāre with short *nirvāna* of Buddha on N. wall, on E a standing and on west a seated Buddha.

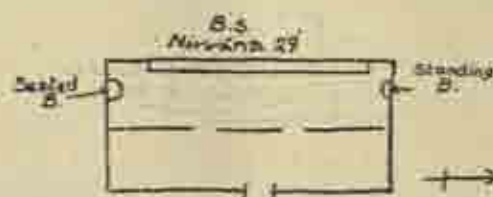


Said to have been erected by Kirti Sri Raja Sinha of Kandy and repainted since 150 years old. Small wooden Nāta-deviyo said to be very old, of same date before the Nāta devāle was built. Also an old bronze image.

The entrances have late degraded moonstones, much erased, of Kandyan type.



F A modern building. Over one of the doors is the date 1805 and record of restoration or building by several priests.



The *Mahāvamsa* mentions of Parākrama Bāhu IV (xc. p. 263 vv. 88-93) :—" At Tittthagāma Vihāra, where the great Vijaya Bāhu built a temple, five and forty cubits long, which had, altogether gone to decay, this King, Parākrama Bāhu, built a fine two-storied temple, thirty cubits long, with tall spires, and then gave that building, as it shone with divers paintings, to the great and venerable elder Kāyasatthi, who dwelt in the *parivāna* called Vijaya Bāhu. He also gave, for the benefit of that *parivāna*, a village called Sālagāma, near the bank of the river Gimha; and in that delightful village of Tithagāma he formed a grove with five thousand coconut trees."

Before this the *Mahāvamsa*, talking of the battles of Parākrama Bāhu I (LXXII v. 74, p. 145) says: "A certain great chief also, who was left at Tittthagāma with a great army to defend it"

We thus get the old name Gimha for the Gim-Ganga, and the name Gimha-titha for Gintota, (xc. 92). (lxxv. 23-25).

The priest of the 1st Totagamuwa said that this was the original and that it was the going of Siri Rāhula Sihavira to the Ratpal Vihāra that gave it that name. The village of the first is called Totagamuwa. Now Telwatta has no ford near it, but $\frac{1}{2}$ m. to north of Hikkaduwa is the Hikkaduwa-Ganga and the Totagamuwa is near the ford of this. Therefore this must be the true Tittthagāma of the *Mahāvamsa*.

It was strongly guarded by the rebels against the generals of Parākrama Bāhu I., which would be the case if it were at the ford, since the Ganga is narrowest where the Colombo Road crosses it and goes back several miles.

A native says that Hikkaduwa is also called Totagamuwa. But the Rest-House Keeper at Hikkaduwa says that the villages run : Hikkaduwa, Totagamuwa, Sinigama, Telwatta, northwards.

The Kotagamuwa on the map seems to be an error for Totagamuwa.

27-2-14 : Went to Galle.

28-2-14 : Went round the town and out to *Gangārāma*, a quite modern looking Vihāre of no interest. Tamil Tombstone in Dutch church.

1-3-14 : Sunday. Stayed at Galle.

2-3-14 : Went to Weligama.

Got a guide and visited Kushta Raja and the Agrabōdhi Vihāre. Photographed *dāgaba* and Bo-tree and took squeezes of the Raja Siha inscription and three fragments.

The

KUSHTA RAJA

stands out in east side of a large boulder on the south side of the Colombo and Galle Road.



It is certainly the statue of a Bodhisattva or perhaps of Naladevi. In the Head dress are 4 Buddhas



impossible for a king. The nose of the image has been broken off, it is said some 25 years ago, by blasting the rock opposite. The ground belongs to villagers but the rock is the property of the Agrabōdhi Vihāre.

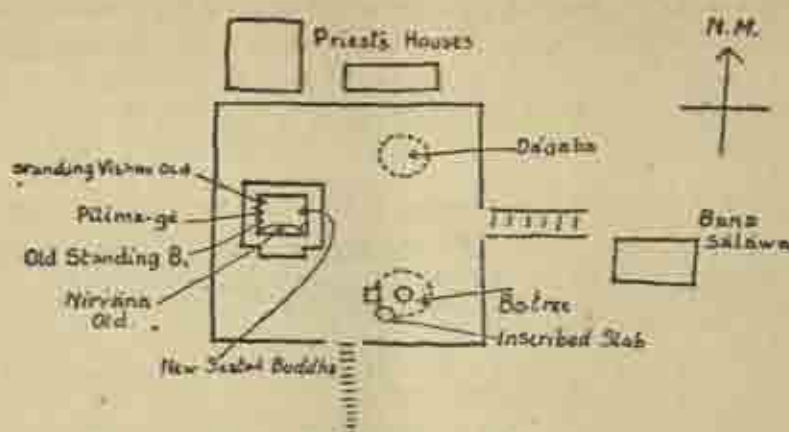
Had the front cleared of weeds.

Advice : Government should acquire and preserve this rock and the land around it. It is a unique statue and should be placed in charge of the Mudaliyar of the Kōrale. The ground round is being dug for gravel but whether this will endanger its safety is uncertain. On the side of the rock near the road are large hollows : It is said that once a poor woman sleeping here heard a voice say : "If you give 1,000, I will give 2,000." She then got some small fish from the sea and was breaking their heads off, when she had got to 1,000, melons fell out of these holes.

Nearly opposite to this statue a path leads across fields for about 150 yards to the

AGRABODHI VIHARE.

On the top of a hill made into a broad platform stand a *dāgaba*, modern in type, a Bo tree, (from which the Vihāre takes its name, since the story is that an Arahāt, on the way to Tissa with a branch of the Anuradhapura Bo tree, laid it on the ground at this spot whilst he rested. On rising he found that it had taken root and so left it) and a *pīṭma-gē* of which the central part with some of the images seems to be old though the rest is now being built up.



The *dāgaba* is said to have been only a small one 20 years ago.

A large stone slab at the base of the Bo tree contains an inscription of Sri Rājadhī Rāja Siha and Wijesin Mudaliyar who gave gifts to the Vihāra. Candles had been burnt at one end of this.

Advice: The stela should be raised and stood upright. The drip from the Bo tree, the use of the stone as a seat and altar will in time ruin the inscription.

The two fragments of earlier inscribed stone and the two fragments of inscribed door lintel should be collected and placed in the *pansala* for safety.

Two old chowries of sheep tail (?) were produced at the *pansala*, said to have been presented by Rāja Sinha. There are some old books in the lower *pansala*, and there is said to be a gold image of Buddha of the time of Dēvanampiya Tissa, but this had got mislaid.

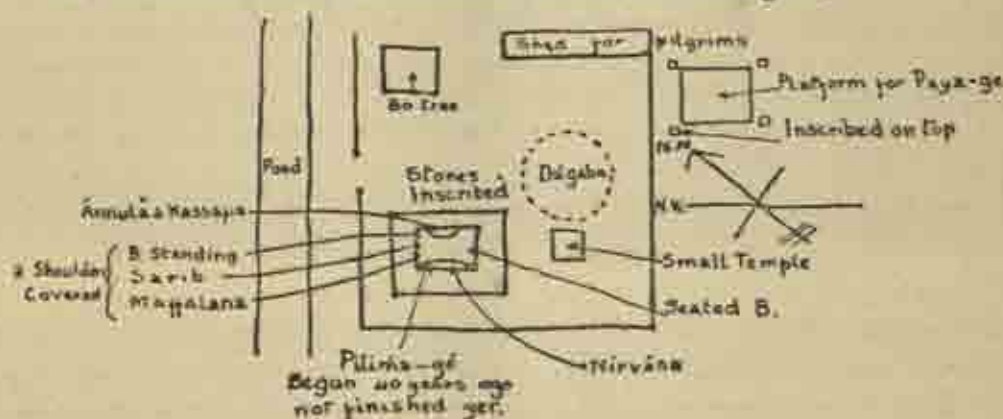
3-3-14: Went out by bandy to the

WELIGAMA OR RĀJA KULAWADDANA VIHĀRE.

Our guide called this the Galgane Vihāre, but the priest said that that was at Dondra. The 1887 List, however, places Weligamane or Galganē at Weligama. The High Priest is D. Simānanda, very intelligent. Amarapura, two shoulders, 20 years here but High Priest for 3 years.

The *Dāgaba* was originally built by Mahācula and restored 100 years ago.

The Vihāre stands on the east side of the Chetti Road in Weligama.

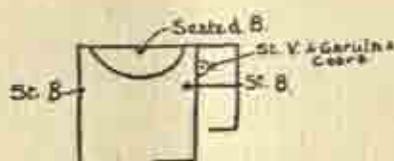


The Bo tree is a branch of the Agrabodhi Vihāre tree.

Unfortunately the priest was going away and therefore promised to send the information later.

The *pilima-gé* has in the centre shrine various B. images and the corridor round is filled with models, almost life size, of Buddha's life scenes and of the coming of Mahinda to Ceylon—not yet painted.

The small building in front of the *dāgaba* is the old *pilima-gé* (about 100 years old).



In the north-west face of the *dāgaba* is built an inscription stone in the 6th (*savana-havurda*) year of Siri Sangabō Sri Bhuvanika Bāhu and saying that he caused Kalu Parākrama to build the Vihāre and records offerings. The Vihāre is called the Raja Kulawaddhana Vihāre.

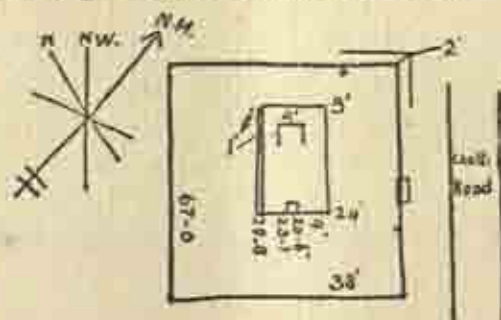
This stone is quite safe, a little whitewash yet on it no doubt but will rather preserve than efface. The stone used was an old step or threshold, since it was well worn in the centre before the inscription was cut, and a hole in the top right hand corner does not interfere with the inscription. The Vihāre is mentioned in the *Mahāvamsa*⁶ and the *Kōkila Sandēsa*.⁷

A fragment of an inscribed stone, similar to the fragments at the Agrabōdhi Vihāre, has been used to mark the boundary for a modern, not yet begun *pōya-gé*.


Went on to

TERUWĀLA KŌVIL

now completely in ruins, having been built only in mud, small rough stones and plaster. Stands on west side of Chetti Road, Weligama, near a residence of Mr. D. M. Samaravira.



A fragment of plaster bears the date 1799, shewing that the shrine was in existence then.

(A. D. ?) The outer wall was of low wavy style  heavily stuccoed. The Ganēsa

from the shrine was of stone and removed to the *Velihinda Vihāre* near Denipitiya (Ganadēvi)

Went out to the extreme west point of the Weligama bay to see a reputed ruin (mentioned in *Cave, Book of Ceylon*). The point is called Rasamuna and the ruin *Rahatuna*

6. Ch. LXXX, vv 37 et seq.: "With her (Kalyāṇavati's) consent, Ayanamanta, the chief of the army . . . sent Devādihikari to Valigama and caused him to build a *vihāra* there, of great beauty . . . He also caused the famous *parikama* to be built there, which was called *Sarajahala-maddhana* ('Promoter of the welfare of his favourite royal race') after his name."
—J.M.S.

7. Verse 60 (edition of 1906).—J.M.S.

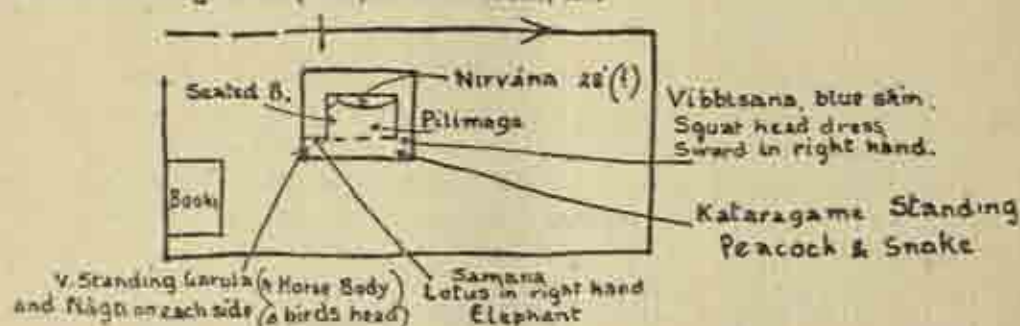
Kanda. All that remains is a quadrangular enclosure of large boulders from the sea shore which may have supported a platform for a mud hut.

Went out to the

VELIHINDA VIHARE (SUDAR ANARAMA).

On the way at Denipitiya just over the bridge one passes a very fine Nuga tree of enormous size. It is surrounded by a double rail and has an altar and the ground is kept scrupulously clean. Said to contain a devil.

Velihinda Vihare or *Sudarsanarama* stands on top of a very high hillock reached by steps on west and south. There is a *dagaba* and a *pillima-gé* (now being greatly enlarged) and a room with a huge chest (1880) of Bana books, &c.



The small stone Ganesa from Teruvila Kovil stands on the verandah of the *pillima-gé*. He has been painted white and blue splotches on eyes and red on tusks. He is in 4 parts and much worn. Said to be same age as Kushta Raja.

No traditions of the place remain.

High Priest Akurugoda Sudassi, Malwatta, 1 shoulder.

4-3-14: Went again to Agrabodhi Vihare and questioned priest, then on to Matara.

The High Priest of the Agrabodhi Vihare (appointed 2 years ago) is Baddhegama Kirti Sri Dhammaratana. Siamese, one shoulder, Malwatta.

In the *punsala* is a perfect edition on talipot of the *Ratnavali*, 795 leaves, written by Priest Paragoda Heranapewidi Vipassi in 2227 B.V., also a *Kavyasekhara* of slightly later date but complete.

Three ivory fan handles, one from Kirti Sri, one also old, one from the Malwatta High Priest on his attaining the High Priestship. Two elephants' tusks (5' 2" on curve) from Kirti Sri. His account of the *Kushta Raja* is as follows:—

A certain king with leprosy made a vow to Nāta-deviyo and cut this image of the god in the stone. There were probably a roof and shrine in front of it, and it was painted.

This Vihare had four *dévāles* all on its land:

1. Teruwala or Ganesa Kovli.
2. Nāta Dévāle (Kushta Raja).
3. } unknown. Probably Vishnu Dévāle and Sumana Dévāle.
4. }

The High Priest presented me with the 2nd part of the *Sinhala Bôdhivamsaya* edited by himself in 1911.

Measured the height of Kushta Raja: 13 feet cut in rock, statue about 12' 6".

Went to Matara.

(To be continued.)

A DUTCH THOMBO REGISTER.

BY THE LATE A. DISSANAÏKE, MUDALIYAR.

SUBJOINED is a specimen, translated into English, of a Dutch Thombo Register of 1753. It relates to a leading family of the village Kodāgoḍa in the Talpe Pattu of Galle District. Some notes on places, persons and families therein mentioned are added.

The origin of the village Kodāgoḍa (formerly known as Kedarāgoḍa, i.e. *Ketāra-goḍa*, "site with fields and streams") is traditionally traced to the days of the Devānampiya Tisa (B.C. 307-267) who, legend says, visited the place with his retinue about the time when the well-known Agrabodhi-Vihāre at Veḷigama, not far from the village, was founded by that King. The village, which now consists of several hamlets, is said to have been subsequently visited by other kings, who effected several improvements in Agrabodhi-vihāre, and had some other temples constructed in that part of the district.

It is the preservation of the names of particular places connected with royalty that gives the village some importance, such as a hill called *Māltā-tēna*, where it is believed that palatial buildings stood centuries ago, serving as residences for Sinhalese Royal Families, and where there are found remains of foundations of old buildings, tiles, &c. Near this is a spot still known as *Panchaliya* (i.e. *Pān-chā-aliya*) the name signifying according to tradition that "the gleam of lamp light" from the Palace had been reflected there. In the neighbourhood there is a place called *Mal-watta*, once used as a pleasure garden for recreation, another called *Maluva* (courtyard) and a third called *Pettagan-dūwa* (island for keeping?). These were so called for specific purposes, and their names after long centuries past are still retained, notwithstanding the many changes and vicissitudes the country had undergone.

Not far from this place is a hamlet called Bihivela (a contraction of Bisowela), a tract of fields whose produce, being of a superior kind and preparation, was allotted to Royal Families. Another hamlet called Di-goḍa was kept for supplying "milk-curd." Besides these, near about, is a place called Ganegoḍa, used for the residence of Buddhist monks. There is in this village a field called *Ēt-gandora-kumbura*, and also a garden called *Ēt-gandora-watta*, which goes to show that "elephants" were brought here for various purposes.

One of the oldest leading families here were the Dissānāyaka-ge family, whose original ancestor, according to tradition, was one of the King's retinue, placed here as a Chief to supervise the affairs of the District, as the name implies.

An important member of the family was Don George Alexander Seneviratne Dissānāika, Mudaliyar of Bentota Walallaviṭi Kōralē, the great grandson of Don Pauloe (mentioned in the Dutch Thombo). He married the only daughter of Don Mathes De Silva Madanāyaka of Akmimana, the brother-in-law of Goonetilleke Atapattu Mudaliyar of Galle, who lived about the end of the 16th century. Her mother-in-law (wife of Gabriel de Silva, Propomant of Mātara under the Dutch) was a descendant of the ancient Ekanāike family of Mātara, well known in history. One of her direct ancestors, Mudaliyar Don Constantine Madera de Basto Ekanāike, was Adigar and Disāwa of Mātara about the year 1644.

Don George Alexander Dissānāike Mudaliyar, after the death of his first wife, married Attygalle-ge Dona Amelia Perera, a grand-daughter of Don Salamon de Silva Goonetilleke, Land Raad Mohandiram of Galle. Don George left by his first and by his second bed several sons who are scattered in different directions and spheres of life.

Translation.

No. 139. An Extract from the New Dutch Thombo Register written in the year 1753 of the village Kodagoda in the Talpe Pattu of the Galle District.

| Field No. | Field | No. of Family | Age | Profession or Office | Remarks | Comments | Book | Area | To the | Pay | Am. | Adm. | Filed |
|-----------|--|---------------|-----|----------------------|--|--|------|------|--------|-----|-----|------|-------|
| 1 | Dismayakage + Don Philippos (Goywasse) the late chief village officer who was banished to Tutuorin's | 1 | 10 | 1 | Don Philippos (Goywasse) the late chief village officer who was banished to Tutuorin's | One-half part of Mullickumbura which is entered under the entry No. 215. | 1 | 10 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| 2 | His wife: Paulige + Dona Tristana of Kalohr; Goywasse | 1 | 10 | 1 | His wife: Paulige + Dona Tristana of Kalohr; Goywasse | As this land is entered as ancestral property of the first named individual's grandnephew Dismayakage Dona Ginnara in the Old Thombo Register it is held and possessed by this family, but with the exception of the ascendants of Dismayakage Jan Lettie as he had given up his possession. | 1 | 10 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| 3 | Sons: | 1 | 10 | 1 | Sons: | | | | | | | | |
| 4 | Don Juan De Silva, at present | 1 | 10 | 1 | Don Juan De Silva, at present | | | | | | | | |
| 5 | Don Bastian | 1 | 10 | 1 | Don Bastian | | | | | | | | |
| 6 | Don Daniel | 1 | 10 | 1 | Don Daniel | | | | | | | | |
| 7 | Don Mathes | 1 | 10 | 1 | Don Mathes | | | | | | | | |
| 8 | Don Gabriel | 1 | 10 | 1 | Don Gabriel | | | | | | | | |
| 9 | Daughters: | 1 | 10 | 1 | Daughters: | | | | | | | | |
| 10 | Dona Clara | 1 | 10 | 1 | Dona Clara | | | | | | | | |
| 11 | Dona Ginnara | 1 | 10 | 1 | Dona Ginnara | | | | | | | | |
| 12 | The first named individual's sister-in-law or his brother | 1 | 10 | 1 | The first named individual's sister-in-law or his brother | One-half of the garden, Kulaginnu Hikkage, watta which is entered under the entry No. 137 | 1 | 10 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| 13 | Don Philippos's wife Illige + Dona Adriana. Her two | 1 | 10 | 1 | Don Philippos's wife Illige + Dona Adriana. Her two | One-half part of Korandeniya Kumbura, which is entered under the entry No. 216 | 1 | 10 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| 14 | Sons: | 1 | 10 | 1 | Sons: | | | | | | | | |
| 15 | Simon | 1 | 10 | 1 | Simon | | | | | | | | |
| 16 | Daughters: | 1 | 10 | 1 | Daughters: | | | | | | | | |
| 17 | Maricus, Goywasse (chola), married to Yagaga + Don | 1 | 10 | 1 | Maricus, Goywasse (chola), married to Yagaga + Don | These two lands are entered in the old Thombo Register in the name of the first named individual's grandnephew already mentioned, as her ancestral property. Her son Dismayakage Don Anthony has gifted the property upon a deed dated 21st March 1728 (given to Subaleno) to the first named individual's father, Dismayakage Jan Lettie, so he possessed by paying the duty for the garden and tithes for the field. | 1 | 10 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| 18 | Bastian. This man will appear registered along with the | 1 | 10 | 1 | Bastian. This man will appear registered along with the | Magasin Kumbura, Katsibera land, brought into cultivation by the father of the first named individual and possessed by paying tithes. | 1 | 10 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| 19 | entry under the family of Yagaga Philippos. | 1 | 10 | 1 | entry under the family of Yagaga Philippos. | | | | | | | | |
| 20 | Francis | 1 | 10 | 1 | Francis | | | | | | | | |
| 21 | Ginnara | 1 | 10 | 1 | Ginnara | | | | | | | | |
| 22 | The first named individual's nephew or his brother's son | 1 | 10 | 1 | The first named individual's nephew or his brother's son | At these lands are entered in the old Thombo Register as ancestral property of Illige + Don Lettie who were related to the person named Subaleno, as his grandnephew, this garden and the field are entered to be possessed by this individual and by a sister or his by paying duty for the former and tithes for the latter. | 1 | 10 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| 23 | Dismayakage Jan Lettie took up his residence in Malara | 1 | 10 | 1 | Dismayakage Jan Lettie took up his residence in Malara | Kavalagons watta | 1 | 10 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| 24 | District. | 1 | 10 | 1 | District. | Indighe and we Eryachettywatta. | 1 | 10 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| 25 | The first named individual's niece or sister's daughter, | 1 | 10 | 1 | The first named individual's niece or sister's daughter, | Illaswala Kumbura. | 1 | 10 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| 26 | Kollipawilage is Dona Ginnara resides at Malara. | 1 | 10 | 1 | Kollipawilage is Dona Ginnara resides at Malara. | | | | | | | | |
| 27 | This has been translated from the Dutch into Sinhala | 1 | 10 | 1 | This has been translated from the Dutch into Sinhala | These lands having been brought into cultivation by the first named individual's son Jan without permission, the share due to the community was not paid; and they are therefore ordered to be possessed by paying the duty due and the tithes. | 1 | 10 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| 28 | by Don Adolphus De Silva, O.C.M.S. (Apostolic) warden, | 1 | 10 | 1 | by Don Adolphus De Silva, O.C.M.S. (Apostolic) warden, | | | | | | | | |
| 29 | the late Interior Minister Mohandram of the Land | 1 | 10 | 1 | the late Interior Minister Mohandram of the Land | | | | | | | | |
| 30 | first Court at Galle on 21st December, 1884. | 1 | 10 | 1 | first Court at Galle on 21st December, 1884. | | | | | | | | |
| 31 | (Signed) D. S. De SILVA. | 1 | 10 | 1 | (Signed) D. S. De SILVA. | | | | | | | | |
| 32 | There this extract is written out from the Dutch | 1 | 10 | 1 | There this extract is written out from the Dutch | | | | | | | | |
| 33 | Thombo Register at the request of D. S. De Silva, | 1 | 10 | 1 | Thombo Register at the request of D. S. De Silva, | | | | | | | | |
| 34 | at Galle on the 10th December, 1884. | 1 | 10 | 1 | at Galle on the 10th December, 1884. | | | | | | | | |
| 35 | (Signed) C. M. ANTHONISZ. | 1 | 10 | 1 | (Signed) C. M. ANTHONISZ. | | | | | | | | |

Foot Notes.

1. Under the Sinhalese kings *Dissanayake Panthiya* (i.e. District Chiefs' Department) was one of the branches of the administration of the Government.

2. A village chief or official has been called from the earliest times *Vidhana Arachchi*, one represented as having control over village matters, so that the word *Vidhana* ("commanding") is used along with the term *Arachchi* (official). In the older days it was used for village officials whilst the title *Mudiyansa* was regarded more as a military term. Some high-class families added the honorific *Arachchi* to their family names, such as *Hetti-Arachchi*; and a member of this family was the mother of the *Mahé Mudaliyar* of 1783, Don Simon De Silva. We read of *Amarakona Arachchi* and *Dissanayake Arachchi* in the XVI century; whilst others of their class or families were called *Mudiyansa* or *Mantri*.

3. During the wars of the Portuguese and the Dutch with the Sinhalese kings several members of this, and other high-class families, were banished to Tuticorin.

4. The family of *Pāndiyana Kula* (*Pāndiyana* race) were original inhabitants of Anuradhapura. In the older days, an ancestor of the family having incurred the displeasure of the King left the place with his family, and settled at *Kalebe* near *Galle*, where there is still a very old *Jak* tree called *Āṭṭuni-Sendo-gala*, "the tree to which a she-elephant was tied" on his arrival. They were also known as *Pāndi-Kōṭṭalage*, some of their ancestors having held the office of *Kōṭṭala*.

5. Don Juan De Silva took up the office of *Lekuma* in the time of the Dutch, and his descendants held the office hereditarily. The duties of the office of *Lekuma* was to keep an account of the dues and produce of the villages.

6. *Hittige* (now extinct) was a family of some distinction. The name was derived from *Sila*, *Sell*, or *Hetti*, a wealthy class of people of a high order intermixed with *Goyiwanasa* class.

7. The real branch of this family is *Senarati Yapa*, and their origin may be traced to Prince *Gopumma Kumārappa* (the adopted son of King *Parākrama Bāhu VI*) who subdued *Yāpa-patana* (*Jaffna District*), and ruled there for sometime until he took up the sovereignty of the whole island under the name of *Bhuvanaika Bāhu VI*, and married the queen *Samudrasāmi* of the royal family. To this allusion is made in the following verse of *Selakkat Sumanā*, the well-known Sinhalese poem of the XV century.

| | |
|------------------------------------|----|
| සිල පුරුකුටි සැකෙමින් රළු දෙළු මළු | 30 |
| පල කර දෙසත් මිණිබරණ නිරත | 30 |
| බල පිරිසේ සහ නැසා පළුක් මෙ | 30 |
| බල දෙසානාසය සලුබිල් කුමරු එ | 30 |

8. Don Simon became *Mudaliyar* of *Veligam Kōrala* about the year 1750. From a Will, dated December 3rd 1784, left by him, it appears that he had received a gold chain from the Sinhalese King, besides the gold medal he received from the Dutch. His eldest son became *Mudaliyar* of *Mātara Vellaboda pattu*. His second son *Mathee* was *Sabbandeur* of *Veligama*, and he had another son, and a daughter. The last member of this family was *Dionysius Abraham Dissanayake Mudaliyar* of *Mātara Vellaboda Pattu*, who was invested with the rank of *Mudaliyar* of the Gate under the English Government. He was *Justice of the Peace* and held besides the honorary office of *Bandayaka Nilame* of the *Vihara Devale* of *Dondra*, famous for its antiquity.

9. *Sabbandeur* is the Persian *Shah-bandar*, a term used for the Chief Native Official at a Port, with whom the foreign traders had to transact business.

10. *Kolipuwawala* is the present *Candamby Gunasekera* alias *Abeywickrama Gunasekera* family. Members of this family held honorary ranks and offices under the Dutch and English Governments.

11. It is not known what became of the other members of the family as none of their descendants are now living at *Kodāgoda*. Some members now extinct lived at *Aturaliya* in *Mātara District*. (Vide *Nāṇayakkara-Wasam Tomba* of *Mātara*.)

To go to an anterior time, we find in the history of the Portuguese Era (1588) that when *Manampeti Mudiyansa* occupied the *Mātara District* for the King *Dharmapala*, prince *Mayadunne* sent an army, and in the warfare which ensued *Dissanayake Arachchi* who fought for *Dharmapala* was defeated by *Tennakoon Mudiyansa* and *Amarakona Arachchi* and was sent to *Shāwaka* with *Malavar Viran* and several Portuguese. So some of the best men of the family were killed in wars, or banished to other places.

Notes & Queries.

COBRA LORE.

By "HISTORICUS."

SIR E. Sullivan, in his book *The Bungalow and the Tent in Ceylon*, records a belief on the part of the people of the island.— "The cobra, it is said and I believe with truth, loses a joint of its tail every time it expends its poison." (p. 98) Is this notion held by Sinhalese or Tamils?

SOME WANNI PLACE-NAMES.¹

By J. P. LEWIS, C.M.G., C.C.S. (Retired.)

THE "natural history and other picturesque village names of the Tamil Wanni" given at this reference appeared, with the exception of a few such as Kovutaraimunai and Kutiraimalai belonging to the Jaffna and Mannar Districts in my paper on "Place Names of the Vanni" in Vol. 14 of the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society (Ceylon Branch)*, pp. 206-9.

To these lists might be added some more names, romantic and the reverse, as for instance, that of the river which flows into the Vaddakachchai fields (Jaffna), which, perhaps in recognition of the good it does in the matter of irrigation, is called Panchandanki, "protector from famine"; also, in the Wanni, Kulaviattan, "the place by the hornet river"; and in Kayts island, Vrattimunai, "Dry Cowdung Point."

Then there is the small island between Punkudutivu and Nayinativu called Kurikaduvan, "place where the signals were shown," and Marichchukaddi itself, "the place where some one erected a bund which held up (the water)." With the Wanni or Mannar name, Nanjundin, may be compared the name of a village in Negombo District, Nanjundankarai, which has the same meaning, "where the poison was eaten."

The contributors of this note ask for the meanings of Kondachichi and Kappachchi. If these are the only Wanni or Mannar names that they cannot explain they are fortunate. I annexed to my paper of 22 years ago a list of 32 names in the Wanni alone of which I wanted explanation, but so far I have received none. [I did not include Kappachchi because I took it to be a feminine proper name.] I still want to know the meaning of Kuravil, Omantai, Tanduvan, Uvatkulam, Mulliyavalai and other place names.

¹ *Ceylon Antiquary*, Vol. IV, page 110.

THE "MEKHALĀ."

By JOHN M. SENAVERATNA, F.R.H.S.

IN a previous issue of the *Ceylon Antiquary* (Vol. I, pp. 129-132) I ventured on the opinion (backed by quotations from the *Asakḍā*, *Kāvyasēkharaya*, *Mayūra*, *Parevi* and *Hansa Sandēsayas* etc.) that this female ornament was originally worn inwardly, and that "it must have been something not unlike the heart-shaped ornament, held in position by a chain or string round the waist, which to this day is not infrequently seen worn in front by naked little 'street Arabs,' by Tamil and Mohamedan children, both girls and (more rarely) boys, for an obvious purpose."

This view of the *mekhalā* as an ornament worn at first beneath the dress finds confirmation even in Indian literature. Take, for instance, the *Mayūrāstaka*, a 7th century Sanskrit poem of eight stanzas written by Mayūra, one of the *habitués* at the court of the Emperor Harsavardhana.

The theme of the poem—a decidedly erotic production—is the description of a girl or young woman, seeing whose form "with its adornment of beautiful limbs, even an old man becomes a Kāma."

The 4th stanza reads :

vāmenāveṣṭayanti praviralakusumam kesabhāram kareṇa
prabhraṣṭam cottariyam ratipatita guṇām mekhalām dakṣiṇena
tāmbūlam cōdvalanti vikasitavadanā muktakesā narāgā
niṣkrāntā guhyadesān madanavasagatā mārutam prārthayanti.

The "girdle (*mekhalām*) whose cord had slipped down during love" affords the confirmation I speak of. Just as in the case of verses 88 and 173 respectively of the *Hansa* and *Parevi Sandēsayas* (quoted at p 132 of Vol. I of C.A.) I refrain, on grounds of delicacy, from translating the rest of the present stanza. To the curious student, unacquainted with the Sanskrit, I shall however be glad, if so desired, to send the translation privately.

KURUWITA BANDA.

By A. J. W. MARAMBE, R.M.

TEMPORARY success had smiled upon the Portuguese and they had pushed the boundaries beyond Sitāwaka. With characteristic vandalism they converted a Devāla of Sabaragamuwa, dedicated to god Saman, into a fort and stationed a garrison there. The soldiers maltreated those who passed along the road or came within their sight. The peaceful villagers, carrying pingos of eatables on their shoulders, were plundered of their precious burdens, and then led into the camp to be cross-examined.

"Are you Kuruwita Banda? Have you seen him at sword-drill? Can you do the same?" and many other questions about Kuruwita Banda and his whereabouts they would put to him. When they had made sure that the man knew nothing or little of Kuruwita Banda,

the clever swordsman of Sabaragamuwa, who, they suspected, was on the look out to make them uncomfortable, they would let him go.

Kuruwita Banda meanwhile was thirsting for a fight. He slept in a huddled heap on the ashes in the kitchen, and when questioned by his mother who did not wish to lose her son, he would exclaim: "Where's room for me to sleep? The enemies press us on every side."

At times he would prepare a pingo and, with this on his shoulder, would venture quite near the Portuguese camp, staggering along till he saw the soldiers coming to fetch him and his pingo. Pretending to see them only when they approached quite close to him, he would leave the pingo and run away as timid victims of the Portuguese garrison often did. The soldiers never could catch him. They took the pingo only to find at one end an "*Ettikehel*" plantain (wild plantain) and in the earthen pot at the other end a nest of hornets or a number of reptiles. One day, however, he suffered himself to be caught.

The soldiers led the villager to their camp. They teased him and had fun at his expense as they were wont to do.

"Are you Kuruwita Banda?" one asked him with a merry laugh.

"No" replied the villager in an unsteady voice.

"Have you seen the fellow? Have you seen him at sword drill?"

"Yes," was the timid reply.

"Can you show us what it is like?" they all cried.

"I do not have a sword," the villager pleaded.

But the soldiers were not to be put off. They gave him a sword and told him he must do it.

The villager turned for a moment aside and, drawing a thin sword from his palm-leaf-umbrella, wheeled briskly about. "I am Kuruwita Banda!" he yelled and set about him in right earnest.

The unarmed soldiers had scarcely recovered from their surprise when the greater number of them lay dying or dead. Kuruwita Banda wheeled round and round at every stroke, making more than one soldier kiss the ground. The people he was to have pleased with the display of his sword-drill being almost all killed or wounded, he rushed towards the *Dévale*. The Captain was there on the upper floor, a stupefied spectator of the scene. As Kuruwita Banda neared the *Dévale* the Portuguese Captain hurled himself on the Banda with drawn sword, mortally wounding him.

The scene of this crowning duel is depicted in a rock carving to be found today in the *Dévale*. Kuruwita, too, had his return blow and they laid themselves down to die—the captain with every soldier in his garrison killed or seriously hurt and Kuruwita his object attained.

The Sinhalese villager thus sings this hero's praise even at this day:—

| | |
|--|--|
| <i>Samana Saman deviyanne devale</i> | To the temple of Saman well known to fame |
| <i>Pemina siri haturu sonagala pratikale</i> | The hostile soldiers of Portugal came, |
| <i>Daruna e Kuruwita Banda yudo ale</i> | Each and all fell a prey to the fearless sword |
| <i>Damina kada pahara meri notaba etyale</i> | Of war-like Kuruwita Banda bold. |

COMBS—USES AND USERS.

By ARTHUR ALVIS, M.M.C.

WITH reference to Mr. G. Huntley's query¹ I trust the following brief notes may prove of some interest—

The comb as an article of toilet has been in use for dressing the hair from very remote times. In many countries of antiquity, forms of it were used for fastening the hair, and as ornaments of the head. They were made of ivory and boxwood. In some of the tombs of Egypt, specimens of combs have been found which were used as head ornaments. They were originally in the shape of hairpins and were used to fasten the hair or knots of hair. Our word "comb" is derived from the Icelandic "*Kamb*," Ger: "*Kamm*" equivalent to "*crest*." Bayley in his *The Lost Language of Symbolism* says: "In the Saxon period an ordinary comb was a well recognised form of grave gift, and in later history combs were reserved for burials of ecclesiastical shining lights. A comb was the emblem of St. Blase, and the word '*crest*,' which is the equivalent of comb, does not differ from Christ." When the body of St. Cuthbert was disinterred at Durham Cathedral there was found on his bust a Saxon comb of ivory—it was no doubt a sign of the Cross, or of Ak Amber, the Great Sure Father."

I have not been able to trace the origin of the semi-circular comb. In Ceylon "skewers" or hairpins or bodkins of tortoise shell, or metal were used to fasten the hair knot of women, and over the knot was fixed a semi-circular head ornament made of metal or tortoise shell, often ornamented with a gold or silver rim and inlaid sometimes with precious stones.

The skewer or bodkin was called by the Portuguese "*gautura*," a corruption of the Spanish "*agudadura*," equivalent to a sharp pointed goad or bodkin. The comb was called "*pente*" or "*pentje*" in Portuguese, derived from the Latin "*pecten*," a comb, an instrument with teeth used for carding wool.

It is alleged that in the Middle Ages priests were required to wear combs to keep back their long hair, so that they might officiate with comfort and decency. I have some recollection that Stanley in his search for Livingstone came across savage tribes in Africa with long hair who wore serrated combs.

When and how the tortoise shell comb and the "tall" or upright comb, "*kelin panāwa*," came first into use or fashion is obscure. I believe it was a fashion which the Sinhalese, or their Chiefs, copied from some other nation. They used to wrap a handkerchief round the head or wear a cap. Knox describes the Sinhalese as wearing "on their heads a red Tunis cap, or another cap with flaps or a country cap which were of the fashion of mitres." It is said that the wearing of the comb was first introduced into Ceylon about the 18th century by some Malay Prince who was deported from Java to Ceylon by the Dutch, but there is no accurate or reliable information.

The following extracts from Holman's *Travels in Ceylon* throw some light on the subject:—

Sunday 21st March 1830.—Mr. Gregory invited the Second Maha Moodeliar de Saram to breakfast with us. The Moodeliars wear neither hats nor caps but they

1. *Ceylon Antiquary*, Vol. vi, p. 48.

cultivate a profusion of hair, which is turned up and secured behind with a comb like a woman's This disuse of caps and the custom of wearing the hair turned is said to have originated from the suggestions of a Dutch Governor of Ceylon, who, observing that whenever a native chief took off his cap, on entering a room, his long hair always fell inconveniently over his face and shoulders, recommended one of them to have his hair dressed, turned up and secured with a comb, which besides rendering caps unnecessary would also look more ornamental. The Chief took this advice, which was soon followed by many of his brother chiefs, and at last it became a *la mode*.

Sullivan in *The Bangalow and Tant* writes as follows:—"So dearly do the Cingalese prize the fashion of wearing high combs, that the tyranny of the Tamil kings could devise no more galling and offensive enactment against the liberty and predilections of their low-country subjects than by forbidding the use of that article. It is remarkable that Julius Caesar attacked the forefathers of our Gallic neighbours on the same tender point and obliged them to doff their *Chevelure* as a token of submission."

I would call attention to the words "low-country subjects."

If there is foundation for this statement it would appear that the custom of wearing of "high combs" is one of great antiquity.

Sullivan does not enlighten us as to who was the Tamil king (or kings) who published this edict. Between the years 203 B.C., when Elāla subdued Ceylon, and A.D. 1023, when Mahinda IV was carried captive to the coast of India, there were no less than six invasions by the Tamils, and several "Malabar" kings, and after the Cholian victories several viceroys—but I have not succeeded in tracing in the old histories any decrees of the Tamils, such as Sullivan refers to.

DESIGNS OF PADDY FIELD IRRIGATION-CHANNELS.

By J. P. LEWIS, C.M.G., C.C.S. (Retired.)

"*DE minimis non curat lex*," but the maxim does not hold good with regard to the study of a people or a civilisation.

I wonder whether it has been generally noticed that in the paddy fields of the Sinhalese, both Kandyan and Low-country, the channels (*dīya māru*) are constructed on regular patterns of which there are a considerable variety, and not without an eye to artistic effect.

I annex a series of designs¹ which I have noted, chiefly Kandyan, but I think that they prevail more or less all over the country where the Sinhalese are. I regret that I have not noticed what the Tamil practice is in this respect.

It would be interesting to learn what the custom is in other rice-growing countries, India, Java, Burma, Siam, China, etc., and in Europe, Italy.

1. The boundary lines in the sketches (encp. list) represent *dāru* (canals), the interior lines *chamels*.

NOTES AND QUERIES
PADDY FIELD CHANNELS.

[Vol. VI, Part II.]



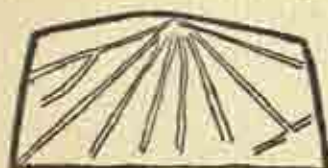
1. The Umbrella
perhaps the commonest type of any



2. The Arrow



3. The Rising Sun



4. The Fan



5. The Gorget



6. The Tunnel



7. The Perspective



8. The Cigar Case



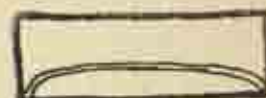
9. Futurist?



10. The Cigarette Case



11. The Crook (*handuwa*)



12. The Envelope



13. The East Indiaman



14. The Cocade



15. The Bosc



16. The Tree

Literary Register.

THE KANDYAN PENSIONERS OR THE LAST SCIONS OF SINHALESE ROYALTY.

HISTORY OF THE PENSIONS.

Causes of Their Origin.

(Continued from Vol. VI, Pt. I, Page 62.)

IV. PENSIONERS RELATED TO THE KANDYAN DYNASTY. (List No. 1.)

| Proposed | | | |
|----------------|--------------|-------------------------------------|----------------|
| Reserved List. | Remaining. | | |
| 3 | 7 | 8 First-Life Pensioners drawing Rs. | 807 3 7 |
| 5 | 25 | 30 Second-Life | 678 3 4 |
| 6 | 4 | 10 Third-Life | 278 2 6 |
| | | | |
| Rs. 622 15 4 | Rs. 537 11 1 | 48 Pensioners drawing | Rs. 1,563 10 3 |

| NAME. | Life. | Age. | Pension. | Date of Authority. | Place of Residence. | Family. |
|--|-------|----------|-----------|---------------------|-----------------------------------|--|
| Family of Rajadhi Rajah Singh. | | | | | | |
| 1. Rangarajany Rajah | 2nd | 40 | R. 20 2 8 | 1858 November 20 | The Fort, Vellore | Wife and one child. — |
| 2. Therasany Nalk | 2nd | 40 | 36 8 8 | — | Chittoor, 23 miles from Vellore. | Three sons and two daughters. |
| 3. Venkata Subbrayloo Rajah | 2nd | 65 | 36 8 8 | — | Vellore | Children dead, but has three grandsons and two grand-daughters. |
| 1858. | | | | | | |
| 4. Subbunah | 2nd | — | 34 0 0 | October 14 | Vellore—transferred from Tanjore. | — |
| 5. Venkata Kirtana Commasany Nalk | 2nd | 25 | 24 13 10 | — | Madura | Wife and some dependants. |
| 1858. | | | | | | |
| 6. Dorasany Rajah | 2nd | 49 | 21 14 0 | September 29 | Negapatam | Four relations, besides servants, depending on him. |
| 1864. | | | | | | |
| 7. Gopentany Rajah | 2nd | 44 | 20 2 8 | November 20 | do. | Wife, son, daughter-in-law, and dependants. |
| 1867. | | | | | | |
| 8. Venkatarasany Rajah | 2nd | 30 | 58 5 8 | December 4 | do. | Five relations and several servants. |
| 9. Venkatasany Rajah | 2nd | 33 | 54 0 4 | — | do. | Five relations, and a number of servants depending on him. |
| 10. Commasany Rajah | 2nd | 49 | 70 0 0 | — | do. | Wife and married son, and fourteen other relatives. |
| Family of Vickrama Rajah Singh. | | | | | | |
| 11. Appoosany Nalk | 1st | 37 | 28 8 0 | — | Vellore | Two sons and three daughters. Sons are 30 and 15 years old, but have no education, and cannot earn a livelihood. |
| 1868. | | | | | | |
| 12. Chinnasany Nalk | 1st | 65 to 70 | 34 12 8 | April 2 | do. | Two daughters and one son. |
| 1869. | | | | | | |
| 13. Chinatany Nalk | 1st | 47 | 38 4 0 | February 21 | Tanjore | Wife, son, two daughters, two sons and one female grandchild. |

1. The date of Authority quoted is that of the Madras Government; that of the Ceylon Government will be anterior by a few weeks.

| Relationship to the Royal Family. | REMARKS. |
|--|--|
| Second son of Jayasamy Rajah, who was brother of Mootosamy Rajah. | Would not like to commute his pension or return to Ceylon. |
| Grandson of Kondeesamy Rajah, and grand-nephew of Mootosamy. Was adopted by one of the brothers-in-law of Rajadill Rajah Singha. | Would not like to commute or return. Children have no education and are not likely to be able to support themselves. |
| Son of Kondeesamy Rajah, who was brother to Optaria Amah (or Oobendrumah), 2nd widow of Rajadill Singha, by whom he was adopted. Claims to be the adopted heir of Rajadill Rajah Singha, but, according to his own story, it is plain that the three surviving queens could not agree to adopt any one nephew, and that the adoption in this case was by the secondwidow only. | Asks for ceremonial allowances, and is entitled to them on a moderate scale, which he receives. Married a niece of Vithayana Rajah Singha, and is therefore related to both families. Does not wish to go back or commute. |
| Widow of Kistappa Nalk : he was sister's son of Kondeesamy Rajah, and was deputed at the age of 8 or 9. | Claims ceremonial allowances, but is not entitled. |
| Son of Mootosamy, and grandson of Kondeesamy Rajah, grand-nephew of Mootosamy Rajah. | Considers his pension too small to enable him to keep up the dignity of his position; claims relationship with the Carnatic Princes. No apparent prospect for doing anything for this man. |
| Son of Chinnaesamy, nephew of Mootosamy Rajah. | |
| Third son of Jayasamy and nephew of Mootosamy Rajah. | |
| Grandson of Chinnaesamy Rajah, and adopted son of Latchwoodavir Unnamal, wife of Geddilwasamy Rajah. | Is well educated and intelligent. |
| Son of Subharsyah Rajah, who was eldest son of Zayasamy, and was adopted by Mootosamy's widow, Venkatasammah, or Mootosammamah. | Claims to be heir to Mootosamy Rajah by adoption of his father; is a well educated, intelligent young man. |
| Son of Baniasamy, the 5th brother of Mootosamy. Adopted son of Rengasallur Amah, and Manatiri Amah, queens of Rajadill Singha. | Did not appear. |
| Husband of the ex-king's sister-in-law. Ex-king was sent to his father's sister. | Has no means of gaining a livelihood;—would not like to commute his pension. Came over as an infant, and would not care to return. |
| Nephew, i.e., son of the king's sister. | Son is unmarried for want of funds. Would not like to go back unless he could be restored to his former position. Not a case for commutation, but a small marriage allowance might be given to the son. |
| Son of Sampandeesamy Nalk, the father of the 1st and 2nd queens. Married ex-king's sister. | Would not like to commute or return to Ceylon. Born in India, and was allotted a pension when pension roll was settled. |

| NAME. | Life. | Age. | Pension. | Date of Authority. | Place of Residence. | Family. |
|---|-------|------|-----------|---------------------------------|--|--|
| 14. Kummaraswobbe Naik | 1st. | 62 | R. 87 0 0 | — | Tanjore | Wife, two sons and two daughters married, one grandson and two daughters unmarried. |
| 15. Kummarasamy Naik | 1st. | 68 | 30 1 10 | — | do. | Wife, son, two married daughters. One of them, Savetri Devi, married the ex-king's son. |
| 16. Bangarusamy Naik | 1st. | 65 | 38 1 2 | — | do. | Wife, one son, two daughters married; two sons, one daughter aged 50, unmarried. |
| 17. Kuppalai | 1st. | 56 | 8 8 0 | 1850, February 21 | do. | Four relations. |
| 18. Muddukanauma | 1st. | 70 | 125 0 0 | — | do. | Has a crowd of relations and dependants living on him. |
| 19. Coomarasamy Naik | 2nd | 25 | 20 0 0 | 1852, June 11 | Vellore | One has three children; the other is just married. |
| Cundasamy Naik | 2nd | 30 | | | | |
| 20. Venkataswaminthasamy | 2nd | 62 | 11 0 0 | 1862, November 21 | Vellore | Wife, and three young daughters. |
| 21. Uthummal, and Venkattappan Naiko, her son | 2nd | 28 | 8 0 0 | do. | Bangalore near Vellore. | Widower, with three girls and a boy, all young. |
| 22. Ragamani | 2nd | — | 3 0 0 | 1866, May 28 | Naragunty near Vellore. | — |
| 23. Savetri Devi | 2nd | 39 | 63 5 4 | — | Tanjore | No children. |
| 24. Venkatesubhasamy | 2nd | 52 | 13 10 2 | 1856, February 27 | do. | Wife, two sons, one of whom is with him; the other, Ramakrishnasamy Rajak, was adopted by 1st queen; one married daughter and one unmarried. |
| 25. Kummarasamy Naik | 2nd | 65 | 6 4 0 | — | Tanjore, came from Vellore. | Three sons and many grand-children; one of his sons is a widower. |
| 26. Dorasamy Naik | 2nd | 40 | 3 12 0 | 1853, October 29 | Tanjore, came from Vellore. | Widower; has a son and two daughters unmarried. |
| 27. Venkatasamy Naik | 2nd | 55 | 3 8 0 | — | do. | Widower; has one son, three daughters, and many grand-children. |
| 28. Venkatasamy Naik | 2nd | 19 | 10 12 4 | — | Tanjore | Unmarried; adopted father left two widows. |
| 29. Venkatasamy Naik | 2nd | 51 | 9 4 7 | 1857, September 2 | do. | Wife, one son, and one grand-daughter. |
| 30. Venkattapadmasabastmi Naik | 2nd | 30 | 20 0 0 | — | Lives now at Tanjore; has transferred his pension to Madras, to pay his debts. | A widower; has mother, sister, and daughter. |
| 31. Darma Rajah | 2nd | 17 | 50 0 0 | 1861, October 25 | Tanjore with the queen. | Unmarried; is supposed to take care of his three sisters by adoption. |
| 32. Tayasammale Rajah | 2nd | 15 | 55 10 8 | 1861, October 25 | Tanjore | Unmarried |
| 33. Chukkani Ammal | 2nd | 38 | 3 0 0 | 1862, November 21 | do. | — |
| 34. Kunmarasamma | 2nd | 52 | 15 7 4 | — | do. | Two relations. |
| 35. Bangar Naik | 2nd | 35 | 4 8 0 | — | Madras | Wife and daughter. |
| 36. Bangarasamy Naiko | 2nd | 49 | 22 15 3 | — | do. | Alone. |
| 37. Mondookittu | 2nd | 58 | 8 10 0 | — | Poodoo Cottah | Four in number. |
| 38. Rajanaka Urmami | 2nd | 55 | 10 0 0 | — | Madras | — |
| 39. Divasamy Naik | 2nd | 45 | 14 1 9 | — | Nagapatam | Wife, two sons, grandsons, and a brother. |
| 40. Ramesamy Naik | 2nd | 17 | 4 10 8 | — | do. | — |
| 41. Kuppalai | 2nd | 45 | 10 0 0 | — | do. | — |
| 42. Venkataswami Urmami | 3rd | — | 4 0 0 | 1864, March 25 | Vellore | — |
| Latchmee Ammal | 3rd | — | — | — | — | — |
| 43. Mandasamy | 3rd | 23 | 16 10 8 | — | Tanjore, with the queen. | Married to one Vivanathoo Bengaroo Teroomal Naik. |
| 44. Rajera Davi | 3rd | 20 | 16 10 8 | — | do. | Married to Venkata Ramakrishnasamy Naik. |
| 45. Andal Davi | 3rd | 15 | 16 10 8 | — | do. | Married to Coomarasamy Naik. |
| 46. Hirthisammale Rajah | 3rd | 15 | 44 2 0 | 1870, March 15, 1880, January 7 | Tanjore | A mother, Vihayarajah Petti, who formerly drew the pension. |
| 47. Cuthasamy Rajah | 3rd | 45 | 35 0 0 | — | Solamundore, 12 miles from Madras. | Wife, son and several dependants. Son 2 years old. |
| 48. Dorasamy Rajah | 3rd | 50 | 70 0 0 | — | do. | Two relations in all. |

1. The date of Authority quoted is that of the Madras Government; that of the Ceylon Government will be anterior by a few weeks.

Relationship to the Royal Family.

REMARKS.

| | |
|---|--|
| Elder brother of Chinnaasamy Nalk above; brother of 1st and 2nd queens. | Two other brothers, Venkataasamy and Ramasamy Nalk, are dead. Asks for ceremonial allowance, as he is unable to marry his two daughters. |
| Son of Petha Dagabesamy, or Dingala Nalk, who married ex-king's sister. | Takes charge of Savatral Devi, who lives apart from the queen, and tries to assume title of Royalty. |
| Son of Ramaswamy Nalk, who married a sister of the 1st and 2nd queens. | Wishes to commute his pension, and his sons would consent if a fair sum was allowed. Fears the disgrace of his daughter being unmarried, and of his debts. At first asks 20 years' purchase of his pension; then states that he will leave it to Government to fix the rate. |
| Daughter of Gumpasamy Nalk, sister of Kummata Subba and Chinnaasamy Nalk. | Pension should be commuted on her death. Owns two vols of land at Poodimottah. |
| 3rd ex-queen of Vickrama Rajah Singha, daughter of Chinnaasamy Nalk. | See various petitions. |
| Sons of the ex-king's brother-in-law, Venkataasamy Nalk, who was brother to the 2nd and 4th queens. | Would not like to go back to Ceylon or to commute, as a lump sum would only pay their debts. Have no education and no employment. Own about 400 to 500 rupees. |
| Son of Samy Coomarasamy Nalk, who married the king's niece. Nephew of Ramanah (Rs. 2), brother of Sock-enamah or Chackal Ummal (Rs. 3), of Tanjore, uncle of Venkataswamy Nalk. Samy Coomarasamy received Rs. 45 10, but his pension was split up on his death. | Complains that his father drew Rs. 44, which was split up, so that he only received Rs. 14, and that Rs. 3 of this were afterwards taken away and given to Ramanah. Would not like to commute as he is much in debt. His father left him a debt of Rs. 1,000. |
| Son and sister-in-law of Venkataswamy Nalk, inherited part of Samy Coomarasamy's pension. | Vidhyanath cannot come into Vellore, and petitions that the whole pension may be drawn by her son. No objection. V. Nalko wants assistance to marry; would not return to Ceylon or commute. Thinks it beneath his dignity to work, but would not mind a Deputy Collectorship, or other employment of similar rank. Is an idle fellow, and deserves no consideration. |
| Sister of Samy Coomarasamy Nalk, and aunt of Venkataswamy Nalk. | Is accused by her nephew of living in concubinage with a Police Constable, and having an illegitimate child. |
| Daughter of Kummataasamy Nalk, widow of king's son, Rajadul Singha. | Wishes to adopt an infant relative; no objection. Asks for 1st class pension, and 2nd class ceremonial allowances, instead of 2nd and 3rd as at present. |
| Second son of Kummataasamy, the brother of the 1st and 2nd queens. Elder brother, Subba Narayanasamy Rajah (now dead) adopted by 2nd queen. | Complains of the smallness of his pension. As his elder brother was adopted by 2nd queen, Chidambal, considers that he should inherit his father's pension of Rs. 75, whereas he only gets a share, Rs. 13 10 2. No real claim. Owns six vols of land at Combsocoom. |
| Son of Kammamaina Nalk, who was brother to Gumpasamy Nalk, ex-king's father-in-law; claims to have married the 2nd queen's sister. | Complains of the smallness of his pension. His father drew Rs. 45, but on his death the pension was split up. Considers that it would be a disgrace for his sons to seek employment. |
| Brother of the foregoing. | Complains of the smallness of his pension; cannot marry his son or daughters for want of means. Has no employment. |
| Brother of the two foregoing. | Does nothing; depends on the protection of Government. |
| Adopted son of Venkataasamy Nalk, who was son to Gumpasamy Nalk, and brother-in-law to ex-king. | Does nothing, but lives on his pension; asks for ceremonial allowances. (Not entitled). |
| Son of Perumal Nalk, who was related to the 2nd queen, (nephew of her mother), and was also nephew to Moolooasamy Rajah. | Does nothing, and his son also does nothing. |
| Son of Kistappa Nalk, brother of 1st and 2nd queens, married Parthi Devi, daughter of Lutchmee Deviamma, who was daughter of 2nd queen. | Wishes to have his own pension increased, and to continue to draw, for the benefit of his daughter, the pension of Rs. 50 allowed to Parthi Devi for herself and two sisters, but now drawn by Darna Rajah on their account. As it is a 3rd-life pension, the daughter has no claim. |
| Son of Alagarasamy Nalk, who married Lutchmee Deviamma, daughter of 2nd queen. | Wants a larger pension, as well as Rs. 1,750 ceremonial allowances for himself and his sister. |
| Adopted son of the 4th ex-queen. | Wants ceremonial allowances withdrawn by father and adoptive mother. |
| Wife of Chinnaasamy Nalk. | Petitions for ceremonial allowances. Not entitled. |
| Daughter of Petha Dingala Nalk, niece of 1st queen of Vickrama Singha. | Used to draw Rs. 10 8 0, but the pension has been divided between himself and his brothers. |
| Son of Thirumal Nalk, a brother-in-law. | Did not appear. |
| Nephew of 1st and 2nd queens. | Absent. |
| Son of a brother-in-law of an ex-queen. Maternal uncle's sister married Rajah Singha Rajah, a previous king. | — |
| Son of Chinkani Ummal, sister-in-law of Vickrama Singha. | — |
| Son of Dorasamy Nalk above. | Inherited the pension of his grandmother; is employed on the Railway as a Clerk. |
| Wife of Venkataswamy Nalk, who was son of Venkataasamy, a step-brother of Vickrama Singha. | — |
| Granddaughters of Pethadagabesamy Nalk, brother-in-law of the king. | Venkatadas Ummal asks that her sister may draw the pension for herself. No objection. |
| Daughter of Lutchmee, or Lutchmee Deviamma, daughter of 3rd queen. | — |
| Do. do. do. do. | Are granddaughters of Vickrama Singha. |
| Son of Subbanarasimhasamy Rajah, who was adopted by 2nd queen. | Wants ceremonial allowances. It is doubtful whether Subbanarasimhasamy Rajah was not also adopted by 1st queen. |
| Son of Anglesamy Rajah, younger brother of Dorasamy Rajah. | Complains of the insufficiency of his pension, and that his brother Dorasamy Rajah has Rs. 1,000 ceremonial allowance. |
| Son of Anglesamy Rajah, who came over in 1806, 2nd son of Subbanarasimha, and brother to Cathasamy Rajah. | Absent. Rs. 35 of his original pension has been given to Cathasamy. These pensions were granted 1st to Dorasamy Rajah's father, 2nd to eldest son, 3rd to Dorasamy Rajah himself. |

V. PENSIONERS WHO ARE NOT RELATED TO THE KANDYAN DYNASTY OR WHOSE RELATIONSHIP IS VERY DISTANT. (List No. 2).

| | |
|---------------------------------|--------------|
| 6 First-Life Pensioners drawing | Rs. 29 6 6 |
| 61 Second-Life | 322 4 3 |
| 99 Third Life | 132 4 3 |
| 2 Charitable Allowances | 15 0 0 |
| 99 Pensioners drawing | Rs. 501 14 3 |

| NAME. | Life. | Age. | Pension. | Date of Authority. | Place of Residence. | Family. |
|---|-------|------------|--|----------------------|---|--|
| First and third batches of Pensioners. | | | | | | |
| 1. Soohrayloo Naidooam | 2nd | About 35 | R. a. p. Draws a third share of Rs. 25 with two brothers. | — | Came from Tanjore to Vellore within the last few days; has not yet drawn pension at Vellore. Lives at Chittoor. | A widower; has three girls and a boy, all young. Wishes to marry again. |
| 2. Venkatasamy Naik | 2nd | 35 | 6 10 0 | — | Tanjore | Wife; no children. Supports mother-in-law and two sisters-in-law out of his pension. |
| 3. Poddasamy Naik | 2nd | 28 | 8 4 7 | — | Madura | Wife, son, and daughter. |
| 4. Dorasamy Naik | 2nd | 30 | 8 4 7 | — | do. | Wife, son, and two daughters. |
| 5. Permal Naik | 2nd | 28 | 2 8 0 | — | Tanjore | One relation |
| 6. Ramasamy Naido | 2nd | 15 | 6 10 0 | — | Madura | A mother |
| 7. Cavaty, alias Karraimasey Naik | 2nd | 30 | 2 8 0 | — | do. | Unmarried |
| Second Category of Pensioners. | | | | | | |
| 8. Rajarajal Naik | 1st | 60 | 7 13 4 | — | Shenagunganah Vellore. | A wife and seven children; one son has emigrated to Mauritius, the other sons are still too young to work. |
| 9. Moodookistmah | 1st | 67 | 5 0 0 | — | do. | — |
| 10. Moothayaloo | 1st | 60 | 2 8 0 | 1851. | do. | — |
| 11. Bakrami Kantha | 1st | 55 | 4 2 2 | August 29 | Tanjore | — |
| 12. Chinnu Nayana Naik | 1st | 50 | 6 13 0 | — | Madura | Wife, three sons, two daughters. |
| 13. Alagathal Thimmar | 2nd | 69 | 8 4 0 | — | do. | Son and grandson; Karaimasamy, unmarried. |
| 14. Karaimasamy | 2nd | 45 | 4 0 0 | — | do. | — |
| 15. Kappasamy | 1st | 60 | 4 0 0 | — | do. | Has one son and two daughters; son has left him, daughters are married. Two nephews live on him. |
| 16. Narraide | 2nd | 40 or more | 7 0 0 | — | Vellore | — |
| 17. Sotamsh | 2nd | Old | 6 10 8 | — | do. | — |
| 18. Venkatasamy Naik | 2nd | — | 22 0 0 | — | Narasagunty near Vellore. Absent without leave at Negapatam. | Two brothers depend on him for their maintenance. They complain that he will not assist them. |
| 19. Moddalagiri | 2nd | 61 | 14 0 0 | 1854. January 4 | Tanjore | Three sons, a sister, an unmarried daughter, five grandchildren; and in all 14 persons dependent on him. |
| 20. Ramasamy Naik | 2nd | 49 | 4 0 0 | — | do. | Wife and two sons, who are at school. |
| 21. Annemash | 2nd | — | 4 0 0 | 1844. February 10 | Narasagunty near Chittoor. | — |
| 22. Mutiyasamy Naik | 2nd | 49 | 2 8 0 | — | Tanjore | A grown-up daughter, unmarried, but want of funds. |
| 23. Kristasappa Naik | 2nd | 53 | R. a. p. 3 12 8 | 1844. December 13 | Tanjore | Wife, daughter, and a grandson, 2 years old, who goes to school. |
| 24. Mangathye | 2nd | 56 | 1 15 4 | do. 1856. | do. | — |
| 25. Pundarividan | 2nd | 30 | 1 14 4 | October 1 | do. | — |
| 26. Govindasamy Naik | 2nd | 37 | 14 10 0 | 1844. December 13 | Waltham, 7 miles from Tanjore. | Wife, two sons, and three daughters. |
| 27. Venkatarangla | 2nd | 35 | 2 8 0 | 1853. December 7 | Comhacorum; draws pension at Tanjore. | — |
| 28. Narasasamy | 2nd | — | 3 12 0 | 1853. December 24 | Negapatam; draws pension at Tanjore. | — |
| 29. Chellam | 2nd | 50 | 2 0 0 | — | Tanjore | One relation |
| 30. Kuppasami | 2nd | 35 | 2 5 4 | — | do. | Four relations |
| 31. Kannanna | 2nd | 40 | 4 0 0 | — | do. | — |
| 32. Gnananther | 2nd | 75 | 8 12 8 | — | do. | Five relations |
| 33. Bangarathye | 2nd | 55 | 2 0 0 | — | do. | Son, Podmasasamy, a pensioner. |

Relationship to the Royal Family.

REMARKS.

Son of one Ramasamy, who came over in 1817 as a boy of 12. Ramasamy Rajah, brother of the late and late widow of Rajadhi Rajah Singha, married this Ramasamy's sister. He is in reality therefore no relation. Son of Soobrayioo Nalk, who was a distant relation to Rajadhi Rajah Singha. States that his father married a sister of two of the queens; this is not the case. Brother of Soobrayioo Naldogam of Vellorn. No relation to the Royal family.

Do. do. do. do. }
Very distant; son of Kumarasamy Nalk, grandson of Perumal Nalk, who was related to Monasamy Rajah.

Grandson of a brother-in-law of Rajadhi Rajah Singha. Brother of Perumal Nalk at Tanjore.

Very distant connection.
Servant of the ex-king. States that his father was the king's physician.

A woman servant.

Sister of Mudda'Agiri, a servant.
A distant cousin.

Wife and daughter of Nagaswami Nalk.

Daughter-in-law to ex-king's maternal uncle.
Son of a servant, who held a piece of land from the king.

Widow of Mullish, a servant.

No relation.
No relation. Son of Krishnasamy Nalk.

Son of Muthusamy Nalk, whose mother was "sister" to Viceroy Singha's mother.

No relation; said to have married a nephew, but it was probably a more distant relation.

Son of Viraswami Nalk, whose family was related to some relations of Viceroy Singha.

Son of Narayanasamy Nalk, a servant.
Sister to Krishnasamy Nalk.

Son of Kuruma, a servant.

Son of Virama, a servant.

Is no relation; adopted son of Opathali Nalk, a servant.

Is no relation; adopted son of Chinnaaswami, a servant.

Daughter-in-law of the late Petha Dinghan Nalk, brother-in-law of ex-king.

Widow of Kammala Nalk, a distant relation.
Daughter-in-law of Perumal Nalk, who was cousin to the queen.

Consister of late Muthusamy Nalk.

Daughter of Petha Dinghan Nalk.

Does not wish to go back or commute. Has no education; would think it beneath his dignity to employ himself, but would accept a Deputy Collectorship, or office of corresponding rank. Asks for committal allowance, but is not entitled to it.

Has no occupation; says he does not know how to do anything.

Asks that the full pension of their late father may be continued to them, also for a larger pension of their grandmother. I have explained that the requests are inadmissible.

States that he has never learned to read and write, never went to school; considers himself one of the Royal Family. I have informed him that he is a very distant connection only, that his pension will die with him, and that he is still young and fit to work. A case for formal commutation. At school.

Did not appear.

Would not like to commute or go back to Ceylon, as he has no friends there now. Complains that he once drew a pension of Rs. 12, but that by Colonial Secretary's letter of 14th May, 1906, this was reduced to Rs. 5. Asks that he may draw the old rate.

Eldest son, 15 years old, has never been to school. Does nothing.

Not related.

Did not appear.

Would not like to commute—several relations are dependent on him; would not go back at his age. There is no reason why the nephews should not work—probably they do.

This pension is claimed by another widow, who pretends she is Mullish's lawful widow.

This pension might be augmented, but the two brothers should receive a share. Acted as servant to the king, and now as steward to the queen, drawing her pension, &c. Complains of squandering his pension, but would not like to commute. One son employed at Colombo, another on the Railway, the third lives with him.

Pension was restored at the time of Poondootiah's frauds. See Colonial Secretary's letter of 16th September, 1863.

Complains of insufficiency of pension. Was employed for a time by "Religious Department"; cannot read English, and therefore cannot find employment. Has been a Road Master at Poodocottah, and is probably employed, though he will not allow it.

Has never done anything; is partially blind.

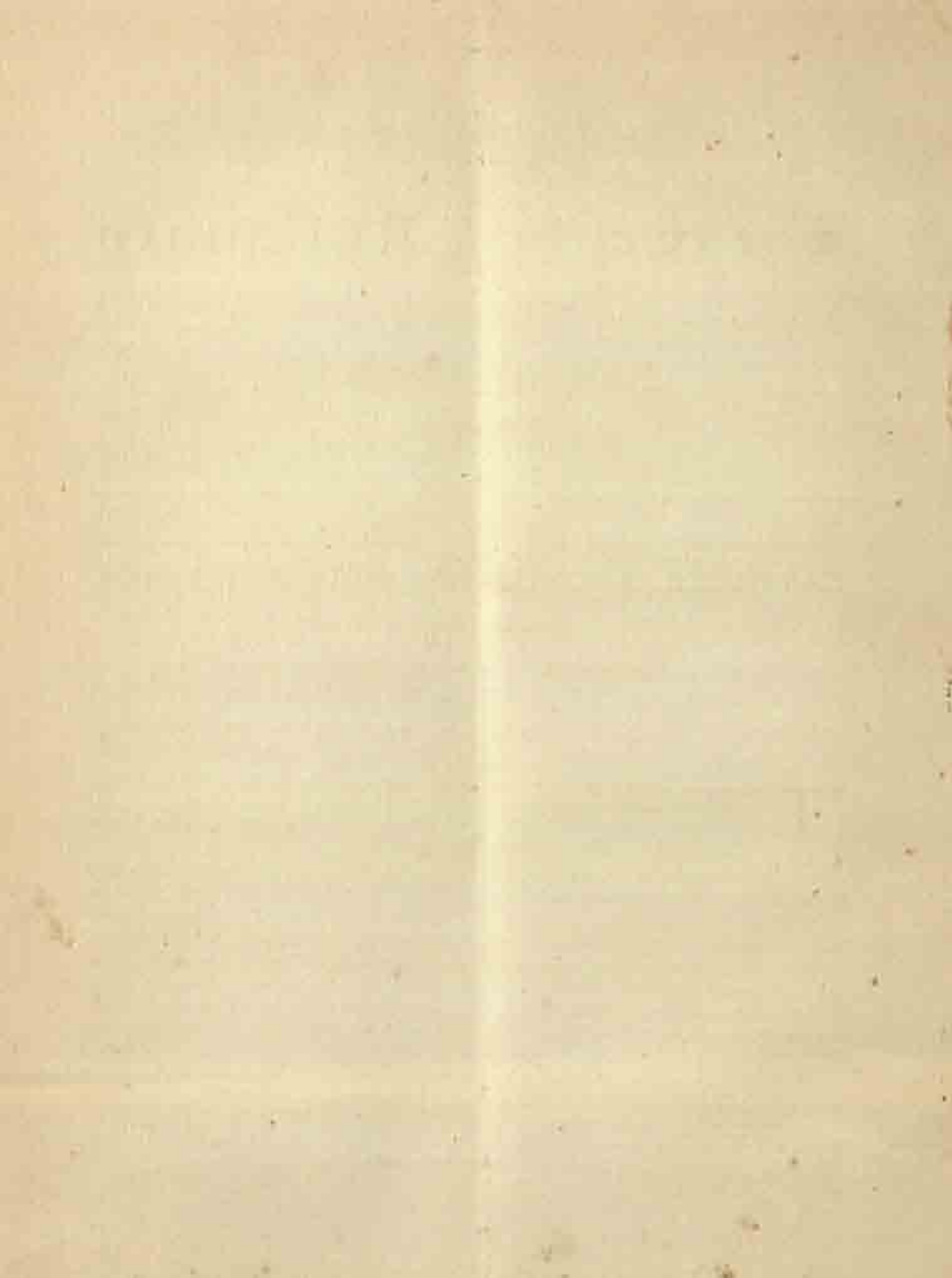
Pretends that he does not do anything, but in reality works as a bricklayer.

Has had no education; sons are too young to work, but one of them is at school.

An Overseer in Public Works Department, drawing good salary, Rs. 15.

Is head constable at Negupattam, and acting writer in Kachcham.

| NAME. | Lit. | Age. | Pension. | Date of Authority. | Place of Residence. | Family. |
|---|------|------|----------|--------------------|----------------------------------|---|
| | | | R. s. p. | | | |
| 33. Chinatambel Nalk | 2nd | 53 | 4 2 0 | — | Solanmunda | Widower; has two sons and two daughters. |
| 34. Venkatesamy Nalko | 2nd | 50 | 2 8 0 | — | Madura | Two sons and their families. |
| 35. Venkatchalaputti Nalko | 2nd | 50 | 10 8 0 | — | Khorovipatty, near Madura | Wife, and three step-children; no children. |
| 36. Dorasamy Nalko | 2nd | 50 | 4 6 0 | — | Madura | Unmarried. |
| 37. Chinusamy Nalk | 2nd | 55 | 10 4 0 | — | Solanmunda | Mother, two unmarried sisters, wife, two sons and a daughter. |
| 38. Coomrasamy Nalk | 2nd | 39 | 2 8 0 | — | Madura | Wife, two sons, and daughter. |
| 39. Dorasamy Nalko | 2nd | 51 | 2 8 0 | — | do. | Not married; have a mother. |
| 40. Verasora Rajana Nalko | 2nd | 26 | 2 8 0 | — | do. | Wife and two daughters. |
| 41. Muthusamy Nalk | 2nd | 56 | 2 10 1 | — | do. | Two sons and two daughters. |
| 42. Venkatesamy Nalk | 2nd | 52 | 3 0 0 | — | do. | Two sons, two daughters. Sons are at charity school. |
| 43. Coomarasamy Nalk | 2nd | 55 | 1 15 8 | — | do. | Married; no children. |
| 44. Kistnasamy | 2nd | 28 | 1 14 10 | — | Omapilly | None. |
| 45. Allamal Ummand | 2nd | 40 | 3 15 2 | — | do. | None. |
| 46. Muthusamy | 2nd | 35 | 1 15 7 | — | Madura | Wife; no children. |
| 47. Venkateswobbiah | 2nd | 28 | 1 12 6 | — | do. | Not married; has an unmarried sister. |
| 48. Ramchandappah Nalk | 2nd | 35 | 1 12 6 | — | do. | Wife, and daughter. |
| 49. Ramasamy Nalko | 2nd | 30 | 3 5 4 | — | do. | Wife, three sons, and one daughter. |
| 50. China Sobba Nalko | 2nd | 55 | 2 0 0 | — | do. | — |
| 51. Sobraylo Nalk | 2nd | Old | 3 0 0 | — | — | — |
| 52. Terumal Nalko | 2nd | 43 | 3 0 0 | — | Madura | Two in number. |
| 53. Cappa Kooth | 2nd | 28 | 10 3 4 | — | Poodocottah | — |
| 54. Chingun Jayaloo Nalk | 2nd | 44 | 10 9 0 | — | Oorapilly | Four in number. |
| 55. Durasamy Nalko | 2nd | 4 | 10 6 0 | — | do. | — |
| 56. Gonsappatti Nalk | 2nd | 52 | 2 12 0 | — | Poodocottah | Five in number. |
| 57. Nautchesamah | 2nd | 60 | 0 0 0 | — | Madura | — |
| 58. Pottasamy | 2nd | 39 | 2 0 0 | — | Poodocottah | — |
| 59. Periasamy, or Kountasamy | 2nd | 46 | 3 0 0 | — | Madura | Six in number. |
| 60. Ratasamy Nalko | 2nd | 54 | 3 8 0 | — | do. | — |
| 61. Seshumal | 2nd | 45 | 15 10 0 | — | — | — |
| 62. Sentina Marianasamy Nalko | 2nd | 48 | 2 0 0 | — | — | — |
| 63. Seroopal Nalko | 2nd | 48 | 3 13 11 | — | Trichinopoly | Six in number. |
| 64. Venkatachannah, of Pan-chikanku | 2nd | 55 | 2 0 0 | — | Shenagangah | Two do. |
| 65. Venkatachannah Ummand | 2nd | 32 | 4 2 6 | — | Madura | — |
| 66. Veramah | 2nd | 35 | 3 5 0 | — | do. | — |
| 67. Moodoomanah | 2nd | 31 | 4 0 0 | — | do. | — |
| 68. Appamah | 2nd | 47 | 2 12 8 | — | do. | — |
| 69. Chengamul | 2nd | 40 | 2 5 4 | 1862, August 10 | Tranquebar | A son, Dorasamy |
| 70. Dorasamy Nalk | 2nd | 21 | 11 3 2 | 1864, March 21 | do. | — |
| 71. Othasamy | 2nd | 30 | 2 0 0 | — | Vellore | None, except three sisters, one of whom has a pension of Rs. 2. |
| 72. Lettichampul | 3rd | — | 2 0 0 | — | do. | — |
| 73. Puthmanthasamy | 3rd | 19 | 2 3 0 | — | Tanjore; absent at | None. |
| 74. Rangarajah | 3rd | 58 | 0 0 0 | — | Madura | — |
| 75. Alagarasamy Nalko | 3rd | 12 | 0 4 0 | — | Tanjore | — |
| 76. Coomarasamy, or Coomarasamappa Nalk | 3rd | 46 | 4 2 6 | — | Madura | Two sisters. |
| 77. Appavoo, alias Sobba Nalko | 3rd | 24 | 3 0 0 | — | do. | Four sons and three brothers. |
| 78. Venkataseroopal Nalk | 3rd | 40 | 2 10 0 | — | do. | Wife, son, and five daughters. |
| 79. Narrasamy Nalko | 3rd | 28 | 4 4 8 | — | do. | Unmarried. |
| 80. Narrasamy | 3rd | 16 | 0 14 0 | — | do. | None. |
| 81. Sathasamy | 3rd | 11 | 0 0 0 | — | do. | Mother and sister. |
| 82. Venkatchalaputti Nalk | 3rd | 22 | 5 4 1 | — | Oorapilly | Has a mother. |
| 83. Munguputti Nalk | 3rd | 61 | 5 4 1 | — | Oorapilly | — |
| 84. Ramasamy Nalk | 3rd | 25 | 5 4 1 | — | do. | — |
| 85. Rengappa Nalko | 3rd | 15 | 3 14 0 | — | do. | — |
| 86. Thayammal | 3rd | 31 | 2 14 0 | — | Near Trichinopoly | Lives with mother and aunt. |
| 87. Stree Ranga Natchya | 3rd | 34 | 3 14 0 | — | do. | Two in number. |
| 88. Angalasamy | 3rd | 22 | 14 10 8 | — | do. | Six in number. |
| 89. Alagettasamy Nalko | 3rd | 27 | 1 11 7 | — | Madura | Nineteen in number. |
| 90. Annasaboo | 3rd | 50 | 2 1 0 | — | — | None. |
| 91. Alamasoo | 3rd | 40 | 1 0 0 | — | Madura | — |
| 92. Ramasamy Nalko | 3rd | 52 | 23 0 0 | — | — | None. |
| 93. Moodoomanah | 3rd | 38 | 3 8 0 | — | Madura | Four in number. |
| 94. Dorasamy Nalk | 3rd | 25 | 3 0 0 | 1869, January 23 | Neagapatam; but absent just now. | — |
| 95. Venkatesamy Nalk | 3rd | 22 | 3 0 0 | do. | Neagapatam | — |
| 96. Palanisamy Nalk | 3rd | 21 | 3 0 0 | do. | do. | — |
| 97. Muttakristna | 3rd | 66 | 2 10 8 | 1854, November 24 | do. | One daughter, and two grand daughters. |
| 98. Kanyar Annah | — | 46 | 8 0 0 | — | Madura | — |
| 99. Rukmany Ummand | — | — | 10 0 0 | — | do. | Two in number. |



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Part III.

CATHOLIC AGITATIONS IN DUTCH TIMES.

AS DESCRIBED BY A CATHOLIC PRIEST IN 1707.

By THE REV. S. G. PERERA, S.J.

[THIS account of the "Successes of the Ceylon Mission" was written by Father Manoel de Miranda of the Oratory in 1707. It is addressed to his Superior in Goa, and gives a lively description of his experiences in Ceylon. The following is a brief outline of the circumstances under which it was written.]

When the Portuguese were expelled from Ceylon the Catholic Priests whom they brought were expelled with them¹ and several thousands of Catholics were left defenceless to the tender mercies of the Hollanders. They seized the Catholic churches² and schools, penalised the Catholic religion, and made it death to harbour a priest,³ forbade even 'private conventicles' of Catholics,⁴ enforced their attendances in the Reformed Churches and schools under pain of fine and chastisement, imposed the Reformed Sacraments and the Helvetic Confession of Faith, held out tempting inducements to apostacy, and subjected the Catholics to a bitter and relentless persecution. In so doing the Hollanders were not moved by religious hatred

1. All except two: Fr. Guilelmo S.J. in Jaffna where he was put to death by the Dutch 1688 (Haldens, Ch. 48. Fol. 713 and Fr. Bartholomew Vergouse, S.J. who died a prisoner at Kandy (Knox, *Religion*, p. 113-4).

2. The Reformed Church in Colombo, for example, was an old Catholic church. (Christopher Langham, C.I.E. III, 14).

3. Proclamation, 19th September, 1688. A list of some of the Legislative enactments of the Dutch is given as an appendix to the "Collection of the Legislative Acts of the Ceylon Government" pp. 40. and seq. Cf. also Tennent, *Christianity in Ceylon*, p. 47.

4. "On pain of a fine of Rds. 100 for the first, Rds. 200 for the second and corporal punishment for the third offence" *Ibid* p. 49.

only. They seem to have had a political end also in view. They were intent on crushing out everything that was Portuguese. Unfortunately for the Catholics, their religion had been identified with the Portuguese, and one of the first acts of the Dutch Government was to decree the abolition of the Portuguese language and the "Portuguese" religion.

The Catholics, left priestless and without organisation, were unable to withstand the persecution. Many new converts fell away and others went over to the Reformed religion, though, "notwithstanding every persecution the Roman Catholic religion retained its influence, and held good its position in Ceylon. It was openly professed by the immediate descendants of the Portuguese, who had remained in the Island after its conquest by the Dutch, and in private it was equally adhered to by large bodies of the natives, both Sinhalese and Tamils, whom neither corruption, nor coercion, could induce to abjure it." ⁵ Of these Catholics who remained faithful the young grew up without religious instruction, and both young and old were deprived of the Sacraments and the consolations of religion. This lasted from 1658 to 1688.

During that period three Catholic priests visited Colombo at different times. They were on board ships that touched at Colombo, and from the Catholics with whom they came in contact they heard of the utter misery and desolation of the Church in Ceylon. One of these priests related the state of affairs to a young priest of Goa who forthwith made up his mind to come to Ceylon at any cost. This was Father Joseph Vaz. He eluded the vigilance of the Dutch and crossed over to Ceylon in disguise. At the cost of untold hardships and privations he traversed the island, barefoot, with his portable altar on his head, in the disguise of a beggar, and visited and consoled the desolate Catholics.

He soon realized that, if the Church was to rise up again, it must find a footing outside Dutch territory, and he boldly decided to seek it in the capital of the Sinhalese Monarch. By singleness of purpose and holiness of life he won the goodwill of the King of Kandy, and succeeded in the teeth of opposition in making Kandy his headquarters. His next step was to procure co-operators in his work, and a few ⁶ bold priests, Konkani Brahmins of India, answered his call, and this noble band not only ministered to the Catholics, and reclaimed fallen sheep, but even made a large number of conversions, created a vernacular Catholic literature, and organised the Catholics to such good purpose that in a short time the Catholics living in Dutch territory began to hold up their heads and demand toleration. Father Miranda was the principal mover in this agitation for freedom of worship, and this letter describes the beginning of that agitation. Father Miranda was in Ceylon from 1705 to 1712 when he returned to Goa and became superior of the congregation.

This letter first appeared in the *Livro dos Moncoes* (No. 73 ff 116) whence it was taken over by the *Chronista de Tisuary*. The translation given below was made *currente calamo* at Calcutta. Through the courtesy of the Government Archivist I was able to see the proceedings of the Dutch Political Council which confirmed many of Father Miranda's statements.]

5. Tennent, *op. cit.* p. 42.

6. Joseph Meneses, arrived 1696, succeeded Fr. Vaz as Superior and Vicar General, died Puttalam Jan. 1724.

Joseph Carvalho, nephew of Fr. Vaz, arrived 1696, died Kandy, 23 July, 1705.

Pedro Ferrao, arrived 1703, died Puttalam, June 1721.

Pedro Saldanha, arrived 1703, spent 14 years in Ceylon.

Joseph De Jesus Maria, 1705.

Miguel de Mello, 1705, died Cottiar, 25 March, 1708.

Manuel de Miranda 1705, returned to Goa, 1712.

Joanna Guonulves 1705, 2nd Superior and Vicar General, died 1742, Bolawatta.

AN ACCOUNT OF THE SUCCESSES OF THE MISSION OF CEYLON,

Written by Father Manoel de Miranda.

Of the Congregation of the Oratory of the Holy Cross of Miracles, Missionary in the said Island, in the year 1707.

After celebrating here, in Caymel, the feast of Our Lady of the Mount, * (as, I think, I informed Your Reverence † in my last letter) I went to Colombo, remained there a few days and left for the Mission of Calaturre, where I stayed till the first Sunday of Advent, ‡ labouring in that Mission in which more than three hundred and fifty persons, both pagans and *reformados*, were received into the Church. In these places I set up some *hermidas* where spiritual exercises could be made and the Christian Doctrine taught when the people assemble at night, for in the places subject to the dominion of the Hollanders all our services are by night.

I also put certain persons § in charge of the said *hermidas*, of which there are nine in the Mission viz., two in Berberym, || two in Macundda, ¶ one in Paygale, ** two in Calamula, †† one in Calaturre, ‡‡ and the other in an island. These Christians gave me great consolation for they are good people, and I found by experience that they have completely abandoned all pagan practices and other diabolical superstitions, which is no small deed in the case of Christians of these countries. I had also the consolation, in this tour, of meeting with some Europeans, soldiers of the Company, who, since they left their country, eighteen and twenty years ago, had never met a Father. Hearing of my presence they climbed over the walls of the *fortaleza* one night, and came in search of me. It was on the very night when I had an attack of my malady and erysipelas §§ with high fever and pains in my back and head so that I was almost delirious. However, in that state I heard their confessions, and not to disappoint them, I said Mass as best I could, and gave them communion.

In Calaturre there happened a prodigy which I should like to relate briefly to your Reverence. There lived there a woman, who is now in Colombo, a widow, and she had, among others, a young daughter, (now dead), who kept a little oratory of her own. She was so devout that her most earnest occupation was to adorn her oratory, making lace, preparing linen, gathering flowers, for it, etc. One day the house, which was of straw, accidentally caught fire, and as the wind was strong and it was difficult to put out the fire, every one got out of the house. The girl, however, whose great care and treasure was her oratory and the statue of the Blessed Virgin, ran into the house and hugging her oratory began to weep. Her mother with a mother's love rushed after her—none of the others dared, for the flames were spreading fast, reducing everything to ashes—and begged her to come out, that her oratory would be saved; but the girl would not quit the place. Yet, strange to say, the fire burnt up the room adjoining the one in which the oratory and the child were, and passing over it (as if it were already burnt) caught the coconut trees which were on the other side; and though the straw and the leaves above were burnt, the fire did not enter nor do the least damage, except that the leaves within were scorched.

Various other events took place there, but I should have more leisure to relate them.

†. Nativity of the Blessed Virgin, 8th September, 1706.

‡. Custodio Leitao, Superior of the Congregation of the Oratory of Goa. 9. 23th November 1708.

§. Called *Hermitas*, *Ermitas*, alias *Annas* who is both Catechist and Sacristan.

||. Beruwala, Maggona, Paygale, Kalamulla, in the Kalutara District.

¶. He was subject to frequent attacks of this illness. Cf. *Vida do P. Joseph Fua*, p. 12.

On this occasion I was unable to go to Galle, for, having communicated with the Modeliar and other persons, I was told that the Modeliar was in the forest cutting timber for the Company, and that there were some disagreements among the people and that at such a time I should not go there. As I had no experience of the place and on the other hand there was no special need for a visit, since Father Joseph de Menezes had been there a few months ago, I decided to follow the advice of the Christians of Calaturre and not go there. So, having recommended the Mission of Calaturre, among others, to Luis Pires, renter of the Company, who commands respect in those parts, I set out for Colombo with tears in my eyes, for such was the grief and lamentations of both men and women that it could move the hardest heart.

In two days I reached Colombo. I wanted to set out immediately for Negombo, but the Christians told me that, as things were quiet, it would be good to begin the annual discharge¹² of that Mission; for this Mission of Colombo is one of the most troublesome, not only because it is laborious to the Missionary, but also because there are revolts, and for this reason the work is done by bits according to opportunity.

I will interrupt my narrative here to say that, ever since I entered this Mission and worked in it, inquiring into everything, I was in a sea of perplexity and scruple. For, not to speak of other things, what takes place in matters of religion and articles of faith, seems to me matter for great concern.¹³ For, first of all, there are some who, when questioned by the Government, denied their religion. All the natives, when they go to get the licence which they have to get for marriage,—and in the baptism,¹⁴ the parents—deny the seven Sacraments, the protection and intercession of Saints, purgatory, the adoration of images, and give other heretical answers to the public *perguntas* which the Xetamby makes in the presence or in the absence of the *Predicante*. Besides this, all the people, both whites and blacks, when they take their children for Baptism or stand Sponsors, are publicly asked by the *Predicante* whether they promise to teach the baptised persons the religion which is taught in his church; and the parents and sponsors answer by a nod.

In this matter the Fathers who were my predecessors had tried every means, but finding it almost impossible to remedy it, they have left the people in their good or bad faith, though not without scruples of conscience. I say "in their good or bad faith," for the greater part of the common people do not know that it is a sin to do so; others think that by so doing they only deceive the *reformatos* merely by word of mouth, and make no scruple about it; others fall into the error through human respect and fear, though they know it to be a sin. Thus it happens that scarcely anybody accuses himself of this sin, which being intrinsically so heinous I thought that I should not allow them to remain in their good or bad faith without admonition, and that if after admonition and advice they failed to do what they ought, it would be my duty to refuse to admit them to the Sacraments, for it is not impossible for these people to give up denying the articles of faith. Finally, I referred the matter, along with several others which came to my knowledge, to the Rev. Father Joseph Vaz, Superior and Vicar General of this Mission, for his decision. He wrote to me that it would be a very good thing if I could manage to get the Christians to declare themselves Catholics in a body and thus avoid burdening their consciences and our own. That was just what I desired and thought to be the right thing to do.

12. Easter duties.

13. Fr. Vaz also shared these scruples. He mentioned it in a letter to Fr. H. Dolm S.J. (23 August, 1708) and the Papal Legate, Cardinal de Tournon, to whom the letter was communicated, recommended Fr. Vaz (24 June, 1706) to try to remedy it.

14. Catholics had to appear in the Reformed Church for baptism and marriage.

But to carry it out was a matter of great difficulty for many reasons. First of all, no private person would have the courage to do it when he went to ask a licence for marriage or baptism for the children, for fear lest the Government might insult or punish him. To do it in a body was a difficult matter, too: it was difficult to get so large a Christian community to act together, for they had never done anything of that kind since the Company took this country, but had ever lived submissively, doing whatever the master of the country ordered them to do, though in their hearts they always remained Catholics. I had to consider, moreover, that there was no one to whom I could look for help in this matter, not because the Christians did not desire it, but because a matter of this nature could not but cause a great stir and provoke the opposition of the adversaries, and if on inquiry some one were found to have been the cause or leader of the movement, he would be severely punished and despoiled of everything.

Moreover, I was a mere fugitive in this country and could not meet easily everybody; on the other hand, I was much disheartened by the timidity of the people who are very weak and afraid of the punishments which might ensue. Some of them are employed in certain offices of the Company or depend on its charity, and above all, though they are Catholics and very devout, they have not the needed fervour of faith and knowledge of God and of sin, etc., because they have not been sufficiently instructed. It was impossible to give them sufficient instruction because of the difficulties that exist, and especially because the Fathers cannot go about publicly in the territories of the heretics but only secretly and in disguise, which is the reason why the Sacraments are not administered by day but only by night. Besides, the business had to be begun in Colombo, but to begin it in Colombo there was no opportunity, and without any opportunity it was not feasible to gather people of *ex-officio*. Add to all this, there were not wanting those who discouraged me, and it was not easy to get help from the other Fathers, for they were all far from me, each busy with the cultivation of his vineyard. In spite of all these difficulties I was bent on undertaking the affair, and began to say Mass for this intention and ordered all the exercises of the Christians, and of the *hermidas*, to be offered for my intention.

Mission of Colombo—Slave Island.

Leaving this subject for the present I resume my narrative. I began the Mission of Colombo in the island of the Slaves of the Company, in which there were two *hermidas*. I had almost finished my work in the place and had only one night's service more, when, on the eleventh of December, God permitted a Proclamation to be issued¹⁶ throughout the city by order of the Government, requiring Fishermen, Xettis (Chetties) and Paravars, and other castes, under pain of fine and chastisement, to send all their children, male and female, to the new school which had been built. Another *plakaat* was read in their church, ordering all persons, male and female, to come thither on Sundays. The Christians were grieved and alarmed, but I was very happy in the belief that God had opened this door for us to give an opportunity to carry out our purpose.

That same night I came to the city¹⁷ and, gathering together the principal fishermen, who are the people most firm in their faith, and the most courageous, and from whom the Company derives much profit, I communicated my intention to them at eleven o'clock in the night, showing them how much the matter concerned their souls. In short I spoke to them

16. It was promulgated by Gerrit Hutgelboek at the request of the Predikant. *Proceedings of the Dutch Political Council*, 1702.

17. The city (and *Sau*), modern Pettah.

in such a way that their hearts were moved (when God wishes it even the most difficult thing becomes very easy); and thus, after I had gathered the fishermen together several times in different places, so as not to be noticed, they came to realize the great error they had committed and they all swore to me amidst sobs and tears to confess the faith publicly even if they had to suffer death for it. We agreed, for greater safety, to make this confession of faith by a petition to the Governor¹⁸ and other Gentlemen of the Council, for if it had to be made by word of mouth they might perhaps not be able to give satisfactory answers to all the inquiries that would be made; and now that they declared their faith they wished at the same time to beg the Company to grant them a church and priests as had been granted to the Catholics in all their lands.¹⁹

The Paravars also agreed to make a separate petition, but the whites did not mix themselves up in this matter as the Proclamation did not speak of them. I wrote the petition in Portuguese; a *reformado*, Tauper, whose wife is a Catholic, translated it into Dutch with great elegance at the request of a fisherman Simão Collaço, the *President Mor* of Colombo, whose courage and zeal in matters of faith is deserving of praise, and who being the best physician in the city is in terms of friendship with the great and has access to all their houses, and as they know that he is a Catholic they sometimes disclose to him what is discussed in the Council; for though many of them are said to be Calvinists, they are so only out of love for posts and offices and therefore go to their communion, but leaving aside the *Predicantes* and a few other persons the rest are not in their hearts opposed to Catholics, and are sometimes even favourable to us, and he has in secret courted the friendship of some members of the Council, else it would have been impossible for a Father to hold service in Colombo.

When the petition of the fishermen was ready it was first presented to the Secretary who is the chief of that caste (*nacão*): for, according to the orders of the Company, no request could be made by the people except through their leader.²⁰ About two hundred persons went to present the petition to the Secretary, who, after reading it, replied that he could not be of any service to them in this matter, but that they must have recourse to the Governor; however, let them consider well what they were doing by coming forward with such a novelty after fifty years. Two of them came to the place where I was to inform me of this, for I had stopped all services and had hidden myself in a very safe house. I told them that they must go on with the matter and present a petition to the Governor and Councillors. A copy of this petition is given separately.

It appears that the Secretary acquainted the Governor with the move, and he, seeing that an affair of this kind could not but be on the advice of the Father, and learning from secret inquiries that I was, as I said before, in Slave Island, sent secret orders to gather three bands of *Lascars*, *Araches*, *Captains* and other soldiers. This he did with two intentions, one to seize me and then to dishearten the people; the other, that even if I could not be captured, the people frightened by this warlike exhibition should abandon the idea of the petition, for he did not like that such a petition should be made to him. It was indeed very embarrassing, for if he tolerated the petition the Catholics in other places would do the same, (and he and others knew very well how numerous the Catholics are) and the Catholics would be emboldened for

18. Johanna Simons. 11 May, 1708-Nov. 1707.

19. In India, Cochin, Tuticorin etc.

20. Proclamation, 20th February, 1706. "Interdicting the Cingalese, both inferior headmen and common people, preferring their complaints to the *Dissave*, previous to the same being brought before their respective headmen.— on pain of being put in chains for the space of 2 years". *Legislative Enactments of the Dutch Government*, p. 428. Enacted 31st July, 1704.

the future. If he wished to treat it as a serious crime he had to deal with a whole population, whence serious consequences might arise and he might be found fault with in Batavia and in Holland.

Rumours of the proposed search were noised abroad but nobody knew when it was to take place. Some said it was in the Island, others in the street of the fishermen, others in all the houses of the Catholics, others that images were to be seized at the same time. There was in short a panic, for the expedition was delayed for two days. I don't know why, perhaps it was because nothing was settled in the Council held during these days, for the Governor, not to take the responsibility on himself, put the matter to the Council. I can scarcely describe my state during these three days, not from fear for in my heart I felt no cowardice, but out of love of him in whose house I was. He was a prominent gentleman and a leading Catholic, whose wife was a heretic—(and I doubt whether the best Catholic lady could have shown more vigilant care and attention to a Father than she did to me.) She encouraged her husband and would not hear of my leaving her house, nor could I have done it easily for the vigils, sentinels and patrols did their duty in all the streets. I spent a day and night between the roof and ceiling of a room: another hiding place was a large chest which was kept in readiness to be entered into and locked etc. At last the search took place in Slave Island one day at dawn, and Rutilante himself, who had to conduct the search, came to the house in which I was at eight o'clock and informed my host about it, for they are great friends. Though he did not know that I was in that house, the warning was intended to put me in safety in case I should happen to be in the island.

When the search was over two fishermen came to inform me of it. I told them to go to the Governor next day with their petition, and so they did. At three o'clock in the evening (it was New Year's eve)—about three hundred persons went to the Governor with the petition. He read it and asked them to come for his answer on Monday. When they returned on Monday he asked them whether the petition was made in the name of all those who were present. They said yes. Then he said that all those who made the petition must sign their names to it, which they all did. Thereupon they were dismissed with orders to come when they were called.

The matter was at once placed before the Council.²¹ It was found that the handwriting was that of one of the clerks of the Company. He was sent for and severely reprimanded, but he said that he did not compose it but only copied it according to a draft which was in the writing of Taiper. That man was then called. He admitted that he had translated the petition from the Portuguese into Dutch at the request of Simão Collaco, who was his family physician, but he maintained that, as it was to be presented to the lawful authority in the country, he did not think that he had committed any wrong. He was, however, severely blamed and reprehended that, being a Calvinist, he had done a thing contrary to his religion, etc. They asked him to bring at once the Portuguese text which was still in his possession. He delivered it to them. The Council decided to appoint three captains to inquire into the matter and to make the *perguntas* and *reperguntas*, etc. Hearing of this I immediately sent for two of the leaders and asked them to speak boldly about their faith without hiding anything; and in other matters to show themselves very humble and submissive to the *Senhores da terra*.

21. The minutes of the meeting of the Political Council held 18th January, 1707, discussed the petition and decided to enforce the order. Cf. *Proceedings of the Political Council*, 1707.

On the following day the fishermen* were called and the Captains began their interrogations, taking down the answers in writing. First of all they were asked whether they recognized the Portuguese writing on that paper. They said they did and that it was the handwriting of the Father. Where had they met the Father? They said they had met him in *Livramento*,²² which is a place outside the city where formerly was a Church of Our Lady of Release (*Senhora Do Livramento*), but now only a ruined wall, but many people white and black, and even pagan Chingalas visit it with great devotion, and each one according to his belief receives favours from God, and the sick drink of the water of the well, which is by the side of the church; and all the orders and penalties which the Company had published against those who go thither did not succeed in doing away with the devotion of the people. They asked why the Father had come to that place. They said he came for the Novena of Our Lady. Why did they go there? They replied they went there to make their confession and to receive the Sacraments. They were asked whether many people went there. They said there were more than they could easily count.

Why had they presented that petition? They said that they told the Father of the proclamation which was published, requiring them to send their children to the school, and ordering them to attend the church with their wives, and when the Father asked what they had to do or say if they went to the church, they said they had to deny that there were more than two Sacraments, to deny purgatory etc., that then the Father asked whether they were Catholics or Calvinists, that if they were Catholics there was no need to ask what they had to do; and when they said they and their fathers, grand-fathers, and great-grand-fathers were Catholics, the Father said that if they were faithful Catholics they could not on any account deny the points of faith taught by the Catholic religion; that they must be obedient to the rulers of the country in all things, but in the matter of religion, as they were Catholic in heart, they could not with their lips proclaim themselves *reformados* out of human respect; that they had only to ask the *Predicantes* themselves and other gentlemen whether such a deception was licit: and when they told the Father that they were simple people unfitted to explain themselves properly before the Governor, the Father said that if they liked he would write a petition for them to be presented to the Governor, who, like a father, would listen to the reasonable demands of his subjects as he was a judge to punish their faults.

Asked whether the Father came often, they said he did. They were then asked in what garb he went about. They said he came dressed as a Chingala coolie carrying a *pingo*. The Captains thereupon asked them whether they were not aware of the various orders and proclamations of the Company, forbidding them under pain of punishment and penalties to meet Catholic priests. They replied that they knew it full well, but that they were not orders which could be carried out, for, just as if their Honours were to forbid their servants to eat, they might be obeyed for a day or two, but eat the servants must somehow or other; in like manner, to escape the death of their souls, they could not but go out by stealth to meet the Father in order to refresh their souls. Then they were asked whether they meant to disobey the Governor's orders to send their children to the school. They replied that the children would go to the school, and they themselves would go to church in obedience to the orders, but they would teach their children at home the prayers of their own religion, and when they were questioned in the church they would say their own prayers since they knew no other.

²² Cf. Report on Dutch Records, p. 20.

Then they were asked who else (besides the Father) had taken the lead in their agitation. They replied that it was a matter which concerned them all. Asked where the Father was, they replied that he had gone. In this way they made many other inquiries, all of which the people answered, sometimes with falsehoods, for not everything that is true has to be told. Some days later they were again asked the same or similar questions, all of which were answered with constancy and without discrepancy; the wives of the fishermen dared to tell their husbands to stay at home if they had not the courage, and to let them go to the Council instead. This caste of fishermen is not like the one in our country, but is the chief one in Colombo, and many of them are related to the White's and many of the *Mestizos* come from them.

During all this time I remained in the same house without saying Mass, for my servant who served my Mass could not be kept there as he was known to all the Christians, and not even the Christians should know where I was lest they be circumvented. Thus since Christmas, when I said the three Masses in one house, I was more than 20 days without Mass. Though the fishermen said that I had gone, our adversaries knew very well that I was still in Colombo, though they did not know where. Knowing this a respectable lady, a convert from the thick of heresy, paid a visit to my hostess, and, as she was so far not publicly known to be a Catholic, without any hesitation she remained there till ten o'clock at night and took me home with her in the disguise of a servant. There I remained some days. I had no intention of leaving Colombo not to run the risk of any disunion or weakness of the people during my absence. For remaining there I could at once set things right, but once out of Colombo it would be difficult to return on account of the strong guards they had placed at all the passes and *garavetos*.²²

Some fishermen, however, and some friendly Whites, like Pegolote and Poyol, sent messages asking me to go away, and when I told them the reason why I stayed, they replied that they were firm in the instructions I had given them, and that my presence was a source of great disquietude to them, for if I should chance to be taken everything would be lost, for they would all lose heart and break down. Owing to these reasons, after foreseeing and forewarning them against any mischance, I quitted the city one night with an *Arache* of the Company of the caste of *Chalya*, and disguised as his *lascarym* I passed the city gates and reached Mutual at 11 in the night. Thence on the following day I went to Dumaga, which is a village situated in the thick of the forests and has a small population of *Chaliyas*, all strong and brave Christians. I remained there for five days and thence I sent two persons to Candia with full particulars and a supply of wine, hosts, paper, etc., of which I was informed the Fathers were in great need, and which I therefore procured hastily from Colombo through a trustworthy person.

At this time a *Predicante* named Zinzo,²³ a terrible and crafty man, came to Nigumbo, and terrified the people with various reports and took note of the fourteen *ermidas* that are there with the names of the *ermitarios*, and other things against Modeliar Don Affonso Pereyra,²⁴ who, as soon as he heard of my presence in Dumaga, sent me a message asking me to come at once to Nigumbo on my way to Caymel in order to remedy the weakness in which the Christians of Nigumbo were. I set out one night with my good *Chaltys* by a way infested with leeches,

²² D. Petrus Nanjen 1704-1702 about whom cf. Valentyn F. #16. "J.P.L." has translated in the C. L. R. IV, pp 12 and 115. Passage from the reports of *Prædikanter* and *Schularen* referring to Negombo schools.

²³ This Modeliar is often referred to in this letter. He was a personage of some importance at this period and is referred to by Valentyn, III, 137. The people of Negombo "refuse to recognise for their chief (oppordeer) anyone except Modeliar Affonso Pereyra, and show very little respect to others and none ever to Europeans," Valentyn, 137. He is also referred to in De Heer's Diary, p. 7, 16, 17 etc.

and as that was rather trying, it pleased God to lead me by another, which was a muddy pool, the most foul-smelling I have ever met. I walked through it for a good distance with great difficulty, for my feet sank almost up to the knees, till at last with the help of my companions I reached the river which flows from Nigumbo, and arrived at the place where a *tone* was in readiness. We embarked in all haste and set out; but all the danger was at the pass which was on the way. However, thanks to God, we were unobserved though we passed very near, the river being very narrow at the spot and the watches were not asleep but were sitting by the fire along the bank as we passed, but God did not permit us to be seen in spite of the bright moonlight.

At three o'clock in the morning I reached the house of our benefactor Modeliar Don Affonso Pereyra who was awaiting me, and from the information he gave me I learnt that the Christians of Nigumbo were so despondent and broken that they had already turned the *ermidas* into godowns (*gudoës*) and had no meetings for prayer etc.; the Christians themselves told me that, had I delayed ten or fifteen days longer, they would have pulled down the *ermidas*. I made up my mind to put an end to this evil by assembling the Christians of each street in its *ermida*, but it was more difficult than in Colombo; for our adversaries, foreseeing that I would pass through Nigumbo, had spread their spies, and the ensign (*alferes*) of the fort, who is a bitter enemy of the Modeliar and is looking for an opportunity to work his ruin and not finding anything else had reported that it was he who brought and harboured the Catholic priests and took them to Colombo, etc.; and to make good his words, had posted men in every direction, and every night the soldiers of the fort sallied out into the streets and entered the houses on some pretext or other. This he has been doing and continues to do with great zeal as if it were his only occupation, and on that account he has been recommended by the Governor, the Dissáva and the *Predicantes*. The Dissáva has promised fifty *patocas* and other rewards for my arrest.

I was thus running great personal risk; but on the other hand if I did not do what I intended, the cause of religion would assuredly run still greater risk; for, from what I could judge, and what they themselves admitted, they would have given themselves for *reformados* at least by word (*vocalmente*). Under these circumstances I thought it better to expose myself and others like me to danger rather than let such a great detriment befall the faith and the Catholic religion; and commending the matter to God I set about paying my visits at midnight, and, assembling the principal men of each street and of each caste, I gave a short sermon as God inspired me; and after encouraging and comforting them to confess the faith and to continue the practice of meeting for prayers and other exercises as usual in the *ermidas*, I withdrew at once without anyone knowing whither. Thus I made my rounds, and so did the soldiers, but thanks to God we never met.

I am told, however, that one night as I entered Grand Street (*rua grande*), there were three soldiers in hiding and that though they saw me pass and followed me they could not overtake me nor find out where I had entered. At least such was the story told in the house of the *Ensign* Alferes who for that reason called me a Sorcerer, which rejoiced me greatly, being the same which the Jews gave to our God Jesus Saviour of our souls. I really do not know whether the report is true, or that it actually happened, but on that night I certainly was in the Grand Street, and entered the *ermida* and afterwards went into a house where I remained an hour and a half with about seven hundred people who had assembled, and left the place safely without meeting a soul. The *Alferes* knew what I was doing and wrote in all haste to Colombo, doubled the watches, but it was all in vain, for such was God's will.

Having visited the various places and instructed the Christians I passed over, with God's help, to the other side of the river and reached Caymel, which is in the territory of the King of Candia. Between Caymel and Nigumbo there is no other separation except a very narrow rivulet although the *fortaleza* is about a league distant. Even in Caymel the Christians did not consider me at safety, for there were no vassals of the King of Candia there, and the inhabitants were people of Nigumbo who come there for greater commodity and till and cultivate the lands without any payment to the King, and serve the Company like the other vassals, who live in Dutch territory, as it is permitted them both by the King and the Company. And though I had no reason to fear that they would come openly to capture me, lest they cause displeasure to the King whom they have orders from Batavia and Holland to please, gratify and serve because it is to their great interest to keep his friendship and goodwill, yet I could not be safe against a surprise, for they can very easily come at night and take me, and give out that they took me within their own territory, and once I am in their power, where is the Christian who will have the courage or the boldness to say the contrary or inform the King? On the other hand the Mudeliar and the principal Christians told me to remain at Caymel with every possible precaution, for if I should chance to be taken the undertaking was lost, and for that reason, if I went away, they could not carry out what they had begun, and the cause of religion would suffer greatly because of the great fear which the Christians had conceived.

Considering all these circumstances I judged my pretence in Caymel necessary for two reasons: first for the sake of the Christians, and secondly for the sake of the Mudeliar, who, as the chief Catholic in Nigumbo, performs various offices in the church publicly before all the people, and some dissatisfied persons now accused him of it, and it is necessary that no proof should be forthcoming in the inquiry which will be held. Accordingly I abstained from visiting the *ermida* which is on the banks of the river until we knew how things stand, and hid myself in the houses of the Christians, always changing my abode and sometimes omitting Mass. For greater security I had two huts built of leaves in two secluded places in the forest; and occasionally I betook myself to one of them, and calling the leaders of the people and of the native soldiery (*principais da militia da gente da tena*) one or two at a time I set to work now on one point, now on another as well as I could. I found them courageous in my presence, but not all so in my absence.

However, I did not lose heart, for I felt that, great as was my unworthiness, God would not fail even to work miracles if necessary, and help an undertaking so much to His glory and the honour of the Catholic faith. I therefore besought our Lord and His most Holy Mother, (whose protection and the prerogatives with which God endowed her, these wretched people make the Christians deny by word): neither will the Mother of God fail to show herself a Mother of Pity to the Christians of this Island, who, in all their needs and difficulties, invoke her aid, crying out "*Madave*," which means "O! Mother of God"; and though many children were punished by the teachers of the heretical schools for making use of that invocation when they were flogged, they would not give up their pious custom.

In this very river of Caymel it happened two years ago in the rainy season that a small *tona* with some people was carried into the sea by the force of the current under the eyes of all and no one was able to save it. There was in it a young man named Francisco who did nothing else but keep on crying out "*Madave! Madave!*" and wonderful to say, though the boat, being a small one, capsized and all the occupants lost, Francisco alone who did not know

how to swim found himself safe on shore, the Lord knows how. On being questioned he said he knew nothing else except that he was put safely on land. Nearly all the *ermidas* here are dedicated to Our Lady. It is the same in Callaturre with the nine *ermidas* that I set up, the people invariably wished them to be put under the protection of Our Lady under difficult invocations.

While I was in Caymel a meeting of the Political Council was held in Columbo and orders were given to arrest five persons, three of whom were the leaders who encouraged the others, namely, Simao Collaco, president of the Mission, Francisco Nunes and Pedrinho Pires; and the two others were Antonio Dias and Joao Pinto.²⁵ They were in the *ermida*, between seven and eight in the evening, and as soon as they knew that they were sought for, they spontaneously came out into the street and gave themselves over into the hands of the officers of justice. They were placed each in a different *estancia*. The fishermen wished to abandon their *tonas* and fishing, but Simao Collaco dissuaded them from it, telling them rather to show themselves glad, and without showing the least grief or sorrow over their capture, to go to sea and even take some *tonas* that were hitherto unused, so as both to conform to the will of God and not to irritate the Government by such a step, and on no account to give up the practices of devotion in the *ermidas*, but rather to do them more openly; all of which they did.

The prisoners were taken to the various Councils one by one and they answered all inquiries as they had already done, acknowledging with all frankness that they have *ermidas* and make their devotions in them, that the priest comes into the city and that they and all other Catholics, Whites and Blacks, receive the priest in their houses, that he remains a night in each house and administers the Sacraments to them. Meanwhile, various rumours spread in the country; some said the prisoners would be flogged; others that they would be banished the country, and as no one was allowed to have any communications with the prisoners people began to yield, and as the devil is never without his ministers, some of them advised the people to beg pardon for what they had done, which is just what our adversaries desired. Hearing of this I wanted to set out for Columbo at all risks to put a stop to the evil, for when the priest is with them the spirit of these Christians is different from what it is when he is away, but no one dared to take me and the Christians of Nigumbo put every obstacle in my way. Thereupon I wrote an *olla* addressed to all the Fishermen, and on receipt of this they listened to better counsels and stood firm once more. The adversaries asked my name and took it in writing.

Meanwhile Rev. Father Superior had despatched Brother Joao Carvalho²⁶ to Putulao in all haste with the information that reached Candia of the arrests etc., with orders to visit all the Missions whether there was a priest or no, and communicate to them all a Pastoral ordering all the children of Our Holy Lady Mother the Church to declare themselves such by petition or by word of mouth, or by any other means. As Father Joseph de Menezes and Father Pedro Ferrao were both in Jaffna, the orders of the Rev. Father Superior were communicated to them through the Christians of Mantota and Manar. I wrote a letter to the Governor of Columbo, judging from various circumstances that it was useful to do so, and sent it through a *lascarin* of the watch of Nigumbo. I annex a copy of the letter.

25. These five are mentioned by name in the *Proceedings of the Political Council*, 18 January, 1707.

26. An Oustorian lay Brother who was serving the Fathers in Kandy. Cf. *Fide vs. Ven. P. Joseph. Var.* p. 186.

The Adversaries, seeing that they could get nothing out of the prisoners, nor find out whether anyone else besides the Father had taken the lead in this matter, let them off with a fine of 400 *palaca*, which was soon afterwards imposed on all those who had signed the petition, to all of whom I wrote at once not to show any weakness in their faith on account of the money or for any other temporal consideration. Though I had nothing of my own, as they well knew, I undertook to supply money for the fine to those on whom it fell heavily, and in fact I wrote to Benjamin Pegalote and to another friend to advance in my name whatever money the prisoners might ask. I informed Revd. Father Superior of the matter, suggesting to him that if the fine were imposed in other places also, we should appeal to His Majesty's council in Goa, to the Viceroy, Archbishop, Bishops and other charitable persons to come to our assistance in this public need of the Church; for should the Christians on this occasion remain weakened and crushed hereafter, they would never be able to pluck up courage to do anything though its necessity were ever so well realised. But it pleased God that the fine was imposed only in Columbo, and the Christians, knowing that my offer was made out of my love and zeal for their welfare and not because I had anything of my own to give, arranged matters without troubling me at all about it.

When the prisoners had been released three Captains came to Nigumbo to inquire into matters of religion, and certain other things concerning the Mudeliar, and the first witness they called was an *Arache* of their *milicia*, named Simao da Cruz, a man of 67 years of age and rather a bold person, thank God; for had it been otherwise and they had fallen upon some one who did not answer as he ought to do, many another, the greater part of the people, would perhaps have followed the same course. But our good *Arache*, (whose *lascarim* I often became when I have to go to Nigumbo even in time of revolts, to give the Sacraments to some dying person) answered the questions put to him with the greatest boldness, confidence and courage that could possibly be wished for.

He said he was a Roman Catholic, not only he but that in the whole of Nigumbo there was no *reformados*, that even the children knew no other religion though they went to their (Dutch) schools; he mentioned all *ermidas* which were in Nigumbo, and the religious exercises performed there; and then in the face of the Captains he called another *Arache*, a traitor, because, being a Catholic, he gave himself for a *reformado* out of fear or stupidity. This was a sound slap to one of the Captains, Gregorio da Costa, who, though formerly a Catholic, had become a turn-coat for the sake of employment; and these renegades and some *mesticos* are more inimical to us than the Europeans and other *Senhores* of the state.

They asked him whether I had celebrated the feast in Caymel. He said that I did, and that all Nigumbo was there, and that it was the feast of the Nativity of the Mother of God. They asked him what was done there on that occasion. He replied that he could not describe it as he had never seen anything like it before, that he could only say that one could witness things like that fasting for eight days and nights and not be tired of it. They asked him who supplied meals to the Father. He replied that, for what the Father cared for food and things of the kind, the poorest man on earth would find it no burden to have the Father for guest. They asked him whether the Father was a white or a black. He replied that the Father was something white, but that he did not know to what caste he belonged, that he had however heard it said that he was a Brahmin.²¹ The good old man gave many other answers of the kind which were all taken down in writing.

21. They were all Kookani Brahmins.

The next day all the people were summoned, one person from each house. Those who lived in the territories of the King (of Candia) came promptly and answered all questions duly, not only acknowledging that they were Catholics, but also that they were *Annaves* in charge of the *ermidas*, that is to say, those who instruct and conduct the exercises of the *ermidas*, declaring their ministries unasked. The fervour which seized all on this occasion was something wonderful. Even the Chingalas, who had never met a Father or came into an *ermida*, went there forcibly and gave themselves out as Catholics, and when they were afterwards asked by the Catholics why they did so, they said they wished to be what they had said they were, because otherwise they had to give a *pingo* to the schoolmaster to get their children baptised in the *ereca*, and that when they had a child by a woman who was not legally the wife, the Hollander padre did not want to baptize it, and that the Portuguese Fathers baptized without any payment, and without inquiring whether the child was born of a legitimate marriage, or not, and that therefore the religion of the Portuguese was better than that of the Hollanders.

On the side of Caymel there are four *ermidas* in four villages ²² of Nigumbo, and thither on the following day came the Dissava and the *Predicante* for their visit. A proclamation was made ordering the people to assemble, and the schoolmasters gathered some thirty-five persons, simple Chingalas and partisans of the schoolmasters, and instructed them to place themselves in front, so that when the *Predicante* asked them of what religion they were, loud voices should answer that they were *reformados*, with the intention of making the ignorant people repeat the same. When all were gathered the *Predicante* came in and asked them what religion they professed. He repeated the question thrice and not one answered a word. Thereupon the *Predicante* said that as they did not answer he understood them to be Catholics, and as he was turning to go, one out of the thirty-five, the brother of the schoolmaster, with two other Chingalas stepped out and said they were *reformados*. God closed the mouth of the rest.

On hearing this I sent a message with the result that, on the following day, when they visited another school, all were gathered together including the old people who had never been to the school, and the *Predicante*, seeing the multitude, suspected the cause and did not want to enter into the school, for in spite of all their proclamations they never succeeded in gathering such a crowd together. Wearied out with waiting the men came out to breathe fresh air and straightway the *Predicante* entered and gave orders to lock the door, but those who could managed to force their way in. He asked them of what religion they were, and all the people shouted out so loud as to be heard afar, that they were Roman Catholics.

Then turning to the school children who were on a side he put them the same question. They replied that they were Catholics also. He then asked them whether they were not of his school. A boy of 11 or 12 answered that he was. Where were they baptised, he asked them. In his Church, they replied. Where did they live? In their (i.e. Dutch) territory. "How is it then you are Catholics?" asked the *Predicante*. "Our parents teach us our religion," they replied. Finally, he asked them: "In what religion do you wish to be?" "We wish to live and die Catholics," they replied. Put to shame by this he left for Columbo without baptizing anyone or giving any licence for marriage.

He had personally asked the *Annaves* the same questions he put to the others, and they all replied in the same way. Finding that nearly all the *ermidas* were dedicated to Our Lady, he asked them why they worshipped a woman like themselves etc. They replied because they

²² According to the report of the Dissava Boisdie there were 2 parish old churches and 2 parishes "on the other side of the river Caymel in Pittigal Korale." "The aforesaid Roman Churches are in the villages Tomany Namile and Odenkare, and in Thambetwile there is a Roman Church," Valentyn, 337.

thought that one who did not worship the Mother of God could not go to Heaven. He inquired very diligently whether the Modeliar had given orders or helped to build any of the *ermidas*, whether he brought the Fathers, but he got no information from them, though they knew very well what he did for the Catholic religion in these parts. This being over, the Captains and the Dissava and the *Predicante* went away and up to the present they don't speak of what happened in Nigumbo.

The brother of the Schoolmaster, who though a Catholic was the first to say he was a *reformado* to win favour, died within some fifteen or twenty days. He was bitten by a cobra, and not all the remedies that were applied, not only the natural remedies but even the devilish ones, nor the devil whom he served, could save his life. Another who accused an *ermidairo* of having said that those who did not come to the *ermida* would have their houses burnt down, was sleeping under a tree with several other men when a branch of the tree suddenly fell and left its mark on him. Another, who though he had not denied his faith, had said in writing certain things which could compromise the Modeliar, fell so ill within a fortnight, that the three fingers of his right hand began to rot and fall off leaving him in a pitiful condition. He sent for the Modeliar and begged his pardon, and then sent me a message to help him in his misery. I sent him word that I was ready in Caymel so that if he could not manage to come himself I would come to him at any risk to gain his soul. Ill as he was he came in a *cattle* and with great repentance received all the Sacraments and died a short time after.

Meanwhile Fr. Joseph de Jesus, Maria came to Caymel to get news of me and of the Mission, and after him came Fr. Joseph de Menezes from Jaffna whence he had set out as soon as he heard of the troubles. I immediately despatched them; Fr. Menezes to Mantota to get the Christians to do what the other had done, and thence to Jaffna. He tried to dissuade me with the fear, which all entertained, that they would be persecuted there also, but I was determined to do with God's help what seemed the right thing to do.

A few days later the Modeliar set out for Putulaō on the orders of the Government with seventeen elephants to be delivered over to the Dissava of Jaffna who came thither to receive them.²² Two days later I set out also, and met the Modeliar who invited me to dine in his camp, and there in the presence of some whites of his *guarda* he said various things which he desired to reach the ears of the great men. I slept in the house of a Christian, where at three o'clock the next morning I said Mass, which the Modeliar attended. I left immediately and arrived at Curiculao at night Shrove Tuesday.²³ Next morning, Ash Wednesday, the Modeliar arrived with his elephants at a place prepared for their reception, and having fastened the animals and kept watches, the Modeliar came to take ashes. The next day I went to say Mass at Putulaō. The Modeliar returned to his post on Wednesday to take the animals by night to be given over to the Dissava who was already in Delque, a league off from Pullam. Having delivered the elephants he came at night to the church with his men and soldiers some of whom were Catholics, and remained two days with us. Father Jesus Maria entertained him with the attention which the Modeliar deserved and which our poverty and the sterility of the country could afford. On Sunday morning I left. Father Menezes arrived that night from Mantota and having discussed matters we sent a messenger to Candia.

After the second Sunday of Lent²⁴ I returned to Caymel, not quite to the satisfaction of Father Menezes, whose great love for me made him fear that some unforeseen danger might befall me, and if such a thing should happen he said it would be the ruin of the Modeliar and

22. 15th February, 1707.

23. 27th February, 1707.

others, who, as Fr. Menezes had come to know, would in such a case not hesitate to take up arms to rescue me from the enemy. But seeing that these were only considerations of future contingencies, and knowing the needs of the Mission, I set out and arriving at Caymel entered the *ermida* with all publicity, and began Mission work, first in the territory of the King (of Candia). While I was in hiding my presence and even the place where I lived, was not unknown, and it only resulted in showing my pusillanimity even in these places, and in making cowards of the Christians; but as soon as I came openly baptizing, hearing confessions and blessing marriages, the people became little by little more courageous.

The *Alfere*s wrote to the *Predicantes* day by day what was done and how the people flocked, but as his writing produced no effect the people began to come quite openly. The ceremonies of the Holy Week were performed as well as I could, and on Easter day the attendance was so great that I think it exceeded the numbers on the feast of Our Lady. Some came even from Columbo, and, as it is above a year since I attended to that Mission, there is a crowd for confession every day. All the children whom the *Predicante* left unbaptized are now baptized and have orders not to let themselves be baptized again in the *Crega*, where I may say there is nobody now, and last Sunday there were only four ignorant Hindu (*Xindos*) women, who do not know the difference between our religion and that of our adversaries.

There was no means, as I said before, to give adequate instructions to so vast a multitude as this, but now that I am present and there is a concourse of people, every day after the daily exercises and the Litany I instruct them in the principal articles of faith, pointing out the errors of the Catechism of the heretics, which was taught them in the schools. Thus by God's grace this flock is improving not only in faith but even in their customs.

I have already spoken in my previous letter of the kindness with which the Modeliar and his wife Catherine Bauzem treat the Fathers and of their zeal and fervour of faith; on this occasion he was so exposed that, had things come to a pass, he was determined to run the risk of losing his office and fortune and wife and children by undertaking a deed worthy of perpetual remembrance. He is the man to whom everything connected with the Catholic faith is imputed, and they say that it is he who brings the Fathers from Goa and sends them from place to place.

The Dissava of Colombo once said to him: "Though this territory belongs to the *reformatos*, I see that the Catholic religion is growing and increasing more rapidly than the reformed religion, and that the Catholic priests have therein a strong supporter." He replied that it was not the priests but he who had in spiritual matters a strong support in the Fathers, just as in temporal matters he had a great protector in the Company; and the Governor who was very much pleased with his work and was a great friend of his, remarked that to favour the Catholics so much, and to give shelter to Catholic priests was a very serious matter. He replied that he and all his family were Catholics, and that wherever a priest was to be found they would not hesitate to go to him for their religious duties, but that he did not bring the Fathers, nor send them, nor could he in any way prevent the Fathers from entering Nigumbo, which is contiguous to the territories of the King (of Candia) where they go about freely, seeing that His Honour (the Governor) himself could not keep them out of Columbo, which is a walled fort with gates and sentinels and watches, for he had seen the Fathers not a few times very near his (the Governor's) house.

Yet for all that the Modeliar would have had trouble were it not that he is very much esteemed by the King (of Candia). Once when his father was at the head of an army division, in the war waged by the Company on the late King, he could have captured the King in one of

the encounters, but he let him escape, for which the King recommended his son, the present King, to show him gratitude. Even on this occasion when he went to Putulso, all the chiefs of the place received orders from Candia to visit him with presents, which they did faithfully. This is the great reason why the Hollanders fear to pick a quarrel with the Modeliar, and it is for this reason that the accusations made against him, the petition of the Christians, the declaration of faith of the people of Nigumbo, with all the questions and answers, and also my letter, were all sent to Batavia.

I must not omit to relate a deed of the wife of the Modeliar, which highly amused me and Fr. Menezes who happened at the time to be in these parts. One Sunday the Domne of Nigumbo uttered blasphemies against the Roman Pontiff in his sermon, for most of their sermons consist in abusing Catholics. The good lady came to hear of it and, in concert with one of her cousins and another lady who had come from Columbo, they went on set purpose to a house to which the Domne was in the habit of coming in the evenings. In the course of conversation they got up a game—for here it is the usual practice for men and women to be together for play and conversation—with the penalty that the loser should do whatever the winners ordered. The Domne entered, and as the three ladies were in league, the poor Domne lost three times, and they gave him no other punishment but this: The first time to go up a tree which was near by and there with eyes turned to Heaven beg pardon of God for not knowing how to speak as he ought; the second to run along the street repeating aloud that he was mad and did not know what he said; the third to strike his mouth with his hand for his faults in not speaking the truth. Those who were in the secret enjoyed the fun. This lady was also accused before the Council by the *Predicants* that she despised the communion they got in their *creca* and that she said she could give in her house the kind of communion they got in the *creca*. The brother of the Modeliar, Don Lourenco Pereira, was also accused of having said that the *reformados* would go to hell, and that he threatened to thrash the Domne for speaking against the Catholic religion, but so far God had preserved them from any temporal loss that might befall them for these acts, and I hope He will spare them ever and reward them for their zeal for the faith.

In Columbo, when they learnt that many poor people and widows to whom the Company was giving alms, were Catholics, the pittance was withdrawn, and now they have done the same thing in Nigumbo. And as I had no other means of succouring, at least the most needy of them, I gave orders that the alms (*esmolla de bazaros*), which some devout people give to the *ermidas* on Sundays and Tuesdays, and which the *ermideiros* hitherto disposed of as they pleased,—and I think they used the money to buy wine and other things which the Fathers needed—be collected by trustworthy persons and accounts kept in writing, and that after deducting the expenses of the *ermida* the balance be given to a Treasurer of the poor, whom I appointed. I also directed them to collect alms privately from the Whites; and I myself gave what remained of my Mass stipends, and to entrust everything to the Treasurer to be distributed to the most needy; the wine and other things which the Fathers needed I took upon myself to supply, not to take anything from these alms, and I do it still and thank God we have not yet felt the pinch, for God provides. But this help is very little considering the number of the poor, for this country is miserable since the Company entered therein. As they are traders they have closed the door to others and everything of value is drawn to the Company, and consequently there is not a single person in the whole of Ceylon who could be called a rich man.

Father Menezes, who is at present in Putulao supervising the building of the new church which is completing, as Father Jesus Maria has gone to Mantota to help Father Pedro Ferrao during Holy Week which is celebrated this year with *passos*, images etc., sent for me and handed me a note from Revd. Father Superior, telling me that the Fathers of Candia would come to Putulao after the octave of Easter and directing me to go also so that we might all meet and consult about the affairs of the Mission, and cases (of conscience) and other things as I had often begged him to do on account of my scruples.

Our Fathers in Candia, thanks to God, are extending divine worship daily more and more, and celebrate Lent with *passos* and processions. They go to the palace in their habits with shoes and birettas, and wear their tonsure. They go to the Sangatares, namely, the priests of idols, and give conferences; and thus they are winning the good-will of the great, and the chief men of the Court, as they will be able to tell you in their accounts. As for myself, owing to the persecution of the Whites, I thought it necessary to take in hand, and am actually engaged in, the translation of the Controversies by Andeaquim, Becano, and Bellarmin which, along with thirty other large works of various other authors, I managed to get from the *gudao* of the Company in Columbo. Thus, whenever I have time, by day or night, I am busy reading these books and scripture, a study of which is very necessary for those engaged in this Mission.

After the third Sunday after Easter I went to Putulao where the Fathers of Candia and Father Joseph de Jesus Maria had already arrived. The day after my arrival Father Ferrao arrived also. Rev. Father Superior alone remained away at Candia as he could not undertake such a journey, and appointed Father Menezes to take his place. We remained some time discussing cases and other things concerning the Mission. We resolved certain points according to the instructions sent from Goa, and determined to write to Goa about certain other matters. When the conference was over I set out for Caymel with Father Jacome Goncalves and we reached here on the day before the Vespers of Ascension. Father Jacome engaged twelve Sinhalese clerks and is busy revising (*pondo om limpo*) the Catechism (*explanatium*) of Christian Doctrine, and various other things composed by the Revd. Father Superior in Tamil.³¹ It is a thing very much needed in this Mission, for even the ancient Fathers of the time of the Portuguese had not done it, and there is nothing in the Sinhalese language about our holy faith. This work will therefore be of great use to souls, for there are not a few who ask for that kind of nourishment in their mother tongue. When we left (Putulao) Father Saldanha was starting for Matalalapa, Father Menezes for Manar, and thence to Jaffna. I am making arrangements to go to the Corlas. May God grant success to us all in everything for the glory of His most holy Name.

As I had brought Father Jacome Goncalves with me, we celebrated the feast of the Holy Ghost in this little church with all solemnity. The people were lost in ecstasy with our decorations. Father Jacome preached in Tamil (Malavar). The attendance both of whites and natives was large, and many came from Columbo. On that day about fifty persons, adults and children, were baptized, and some marriages were blest, for when I am here in this church no marriages are blest except after publishing two banns, and I give them a certificate (*Chitto*) of

31. Father Goncalves is preeminently "the Father of Sinhalese Catholic Literature." He built our language, the language of our prayers, of our litanies, of our hymns, of our liturgy, of our Theology. And in the vast vocabulary of ecclesiastical terms that he invented or adapted no word has been changed for fault, etymology or inaccurate theology. The beauty and exalted tone of his prayers, the flowing rhythm of his litanies, the sweet melody and living soul of his verse, have nothing to approach them in subsequent literature, while the general style and merits of his writings, devotional, polemical, biblical etc., are unsurpassed in the best types of classical Sinhalese. *Ceylon Catholic Messenger*, 10 July 1920. The Catholic Union of Ceylon has proposed to bring out a Library edition of his works.

marriage. Many people come here for marriage, for the *Predicantes* do not give licence for marriage, nor baptize those who say they are Catholics. Though all that I do is known to the adversaries they do not so far say a word. It seems they are awaiting a reply from Batavia. God grant that it may bring some relief to these Christians, and that the unfortunate people may not be oppressed to deny their religion or articles of faith.

At this time we received intelligence of the death of His Imperial Majesty, which caused us great grief, for he was a King of good proceeding who did no harm to anybody and was very favourable to us. When we found that the news was true we judged that it would be good for Father Jacome to start at once for Candia where Revd. Father Superior was alone, both to be of assistance to ours and to pay his respects to the new King. I therefore supplied him with men and provisions necessary for the journey and sent him with all precaution through the territories of the Company to Sitavaca to make his way thence to the interior if there was no difficulty, or otherwise to send word to Revd. Father Superior and follow his directions. Thus he set out on the 14th; but on the 18th I received a note from Potulao telling me that Revd. Father Superior wrote to say that the King died on the 14th of June, and that on the 16th the body was cremated, and that Antonio Dorta repeated twice or thrice that the Fathers should all appear before the new King, who is a Prince of about eighteen years of age, to offer their condolences on the death of his father, and to congratulate him on his accession; but as that means that we shall have to put off our work Revd. Father Superior only ordered us to come when an opportunity presented itself. The Father of Potulao sent me his message at once, and sent word to Fathers Menezes, Saldanha, and Ferrao who had set out for the Missions of Vanny and Mantota, to come to a decision or set out on this journey. I at once wrote to Father Jesus Maria that I thought we should go, even though the work of the Mission should thereby be delayed, for to secure ways and means for the perpetuity of the Mission is more important than anything else.

In Colombo a *plakaat* was recently published ** that all foreigners, *mesticos*, *topazes* and *brahmins* etc. who come into the city should go to a person therein named and declare the reasons for his visits and take a *chito* signed by him for his safety, and that anyone found without it would be punished, and he who harbours such a one shall be fined one hundred *patacas*; and some ladies who came thence to Caymel recently for confession told me that it was said last Saturday that another *plakaat* would be published ** forbidding meetings of over six or eight persons for the purpose of religion, and that those in whose houses images should be found would also be punished. Though I think that the orders are merely *quoad terrorem*, to prevent the growth and increase of the Catholic religion and to hamper it, yet God alone knows what these wicked people have in view. May God in His mercy deign to relieve this His flock from so many vexations and oppressions.

COPY OF THE PETITION WHICH THE PEOPLE PRESENTED TO THE GOVERNOR OF COLOMBO.

The people of the caste of fishermen submit that, from the time the most Noble Company took this country up to this day, they have ever been and have shown themselves its loyal subjects and servants, obeying faithfully in time of war and peace all the orders of the *Senhores* who governed and are governing, as Your Honour and the other gentlemen of the Council well know.

22. Proclamation, 4 April 1707: "Ordering strangers arriving at Colombo (except those employed in the coast Districts) to report their names to the Sabendhar (Collector of Customs) on pain of being imprisoned as vagrants and otherwise punished." Encomend p. 400.

23. Proclamation, January 17, 1713: Prohibiting the keeping of public and private assemblies or conventicles of Roman Catholics, August 28, 1713, Prohibiting the Christening of children by Roman Catholic priests.

March, 1724, Prohibiting the granting of lodgings to Roman Catholic Priests.

July, 1707, prohibiting the intrusion of Roman Catholic priests and holding private and public assemblies.

And as last Saturday a proclamation was issued by orders of Your Honour (requesting them) to enrol all their children in the book of the Canacopole of the *padri*, they have in obedience to the said orders complied with the said proclamation giving the names of their children; but as it is the duty of good subjects not to deceive but always to speak the truth to their lord and master, they with all humility make known to Your Honour and to the other gentlemen of the Council that their forefathers as well as they themselves and their children and their families, men and women, are Roman Catholics, and that they have always been of the said religion and want to remain in it to the end;

Wherefore, prostrate at Your Honour's feet, they beg you not to do them or their families any violence or oppression in this matter, for the aforesaid faith is so firmly rooted in their hearts that they cannot abandon it nor will such a thing enter their heads, but rather they have recourse to Your Honour and say that, as the noble Company has done the favour of granting priests and churches to the Catholics in all their territories, they alone are deprived of that good fortune;

And therefore they beg Your Honour as their father and lord, to be good enough to grant them redress for the peace of their conscience; for, apart from the noble Company and Your Honour, no one else can do them this favour; that in all other things they promise, as loyal subjects and good servants, to show themselves faithful in the service of the noble Company and to observe its orders: and they trust to the piety of Your Honour to turn his eyes of clemency on this their humble petition.

COPY OF LETTER WHICH I SENT TO THE GOVERNOR.

Illustrious and most Noble Senhor, Governor of Ceylon.

It is related of Alexander the Great, who was master of almost the whole world, that he never disdained to receive a letter even from the vilest of his subjects and that he replied even to the farrier of his horses; and of another Roman Emperor we read that, even when engaged in war and consequently very busy, he did not despise the letters written to him by a gardener. These considerations and the necessity of showing that I did not come to this country with an evil purpose or to machinate treason but only to fulfil the duties of the office which I unworthily hold, embolden me to write this letter to Your Honour, hoping that as a ruler and generous gentleman you will not disdain to read it.

I learnt that Your Honour was very much offended because I had advised the Catholics, vassals of the noble Company, to confess and not to deny, the religion they profess. I am exceedingly sorry to think that I have given you pain, for it is my desire not to hurt even a fly, much less so high a personage as Your Honour, to whom if I have not the opportunity or the good fortune to be of service, I have at least the desire; and as Your Honour is a righteous judge in all things, I beg you to judge my cause also and see whether I am to blame for what I did.

Most Noble Sir, I have never forced anyone to be a Catholic, nor in the matter of religion, as Your Honour well knows, is it right to do so. For if God Almighty Himself, who is able to change the hearts of men, does not constrain but leaves men free to pursue good or evil, no man though he were lord of the land can force other men, how much less can I who am but a weak creature? Nor did I ever constrain a *reformado* to proclaim himself a Catholic, for I should thereby be committing a sin. For a *reformado* who believes in his sect would commit a sin by denying it out of human respect; and he sins also who obliges him to do it, since one who is the cause of a sin is certainly guilty of sin. I did indeed advise (the Catholics) that, just as those who are at heart *reformados* may not for temporal considerations call themselves Catholics as their religion teaches them, so also those who are Catholics at heart must not for any consideration call themselves *reformados*, seeing that such a course is not only abhorrent to God, but even to men. Besides, if a *reformado* were to say that he is a Lutheran or a Catholic to please men or for fear of them, he would be deriding even the Lutherans or Catholics. How then could the Catholics be anything but deceivers if out of human respect they say they are something else?

Moreover, all Sovereigns, Kings and Rulers expect their subjects to speak the truth to them and utterly abhor those who dissimulate and dissemble. But what do I say? Kings and Princes? Nay, even those who are accustomed to lie wish others to speak truth to them. Though a lie which does no harm to another is a light fault, it is however a vice most abhorred by princes and lords, and therefore the honourable man considers it a greater insult to be called a liar or a deceiver than to be called proud, lazy, avaricious or even impure. Such being the case I do not know, Sir, what fault I committed when I advised men to lay aside disguise and deceit and speak the truth as Christ Our Lord Himself and the Holy Apostles and all law divine and human command and teach. Rather, it seems to me, that those who speak the truth and do not hide it through human respect, deserve to be considered more faithful and loyal subjects than those who, to gain some temporal advantage, deny their religion and deceive; for one who out of fear or self-interest is faithless to the religion he professes, is capable of denying the King whom he serves when interest or fear requires it.

From another point of view it seems to me that I deserve praise, rather than blame, for when asked by the Catholic subjects of the Company, who are not a few, for some means to safeguard the welfare of their souls and peace of conscience, I did not advise them to rise up in revolt nor to seek other crooked paths—and if the truth were told, they could tell you how much I commended fidelity and obedience to the rulers, and how much I exhorted them to deal conscientiously in matters concerning the property and revenue of the Company. And God knows whether I and the other Rev. Fathers who are in this island are not in this matter of some service to the Company. I do not mention this to lay claim to a service to Your Honour, for I confess that it is not out of love for the Company that we do so but it is the duty of our ministry. I told them that they have no other means of redress but humbly to approach the noble Company and Your Honour its Governor, for just as you are their lord and judge to punish their misdeeds, you are likewise their father to see to their rightful demands.

Most Noble Sir, the granting or refusal of the request depends on the will of the master; but for a vassal and servant to approach and expose his needs to his ruler is a thing which no King or Monarch will take amiss nor ever could take ill. To whom can the subjects go if not to the King? Whom must the servant approach if not his master? To whom can the children go if not to their father? Your Honour is father, master and King of your vassals; and I think I have not erred in advising them to go, nor they in having recourse, to him who can give them redress; but on the other hand they would be blamed if, instead of approaching you, they sought other means or crooked paths.

Tell me, Sir, is it wrong to advise a thirsty man who asks for drink for love of God, to go to him who can quench his thirst? Is it a sin to advise a famished man who begs for food with upraised hands to go to him who can satisfy his hunger? How then can it be wrong or a fault to advise those who are in spiritual need, which is incomparably greater than the needs of the body, to come to Your Honour to ask redress, since in this land it is only the Noble Company and Your Honour, who is its most worthy Governor, and no other who can satisfy their spiritual hunger and thirst?

You may perhaps also accuse the Catholics of having come to me, and accuse me of having entered these states, against the orders of the Noble Company. These, Sir, though they may appear faults, are no faults at all if you consider them dispassionately with the eyes of reason. You remember what Christ Our Lord said: "What doth it profit a man to gain the whole world and suffer the loss of his own soul?" When one, without the least damage or prejudice to another, without detriment to his soul, and for the peace of his conscience, violates a prohibition, it is clear that he is guiltless, for Your Honour well knows that religion and the soul's salvation is of far greater importance to a man than temporal goods. As for me I admit that I often entered your territories in disguise to fulfil my duties to the Catholics. Not only I but all the other Rev. Fathers who for the last twenty years have lived in the territories of his Imperial Majesty (King of Candia) never missed an opportunity of visiting the Christians from time to time. I must add also that apostolic labourers will never cease to go about doing their duty, for the King of Portugal, my Sovereign, and his ancestors zealously conquered the countries of Asia to spread the faith of Christ and to make the Gospel known to those who live in the blindness of paganism; and though God permitted the loss of some of their territories, the most serene King

will never cease his watchfulness in providing missionaries to minister to the spiritual needs of the Christians, as is quite well known to Your Honour. If that is a fault in us, it is a fault which the Holy Apostles and Saints delighted to commit. I have no intention of comparing myself to the Apostles, nor to pretend to be a saint, knowing myself to be the worst of men; but I speak only of the office which I unworthily exercise.

And now, most Noble Sir, considering these my reasons, others I omit, let Your Honour judge in your heart whether what I have counselled and done, was done as an enemy of the Company, or to machinate against it. I have no reasons whatever to do such a thing, for, first of all, and this is the chief thing, it is contrary to my state and office which is concerned only with souls; secondly, if, admitting it for the sake of argument, I should do so, it would be either out of love for the King of Portugal, whose vassal I am, or of his Imperial Majesty of Candia to whom I am now subject; but both the one and the other are at peace and in alliance with the states of Holland and the Noble Company, as your Honour knows better than I; and therefore if I, contrary to the obligations of my office, were to do anything against the Company, one (the King of Portugal) can deal severely with me and the other (of Candia) can at least banish me from his territory, and had I the honour to kiss Your Honour's hands you will perhaps not be offended.

I do not wish to be longer than I have been both not to weary Your Honour with more things, and because not everything should be written. I am moreover in a hurry on my way to Vellevally. Wherever I shall be I remain always at Your Honour's service. May God preserve Your Honour and prosper you in wealth and dignity.

Your Honour's Most Humble Servant,

MANOEL DE MIRANDA.

Dombanym,

10 February, 1707.



SOURCES OF THE YALPPANA VAIPAVA-MALAI.

By REVD. S. GNANA PRAKASAR, O.M.I.

AS its learned translator¹ has justly remarked, the *Yalppana Vaipava-Malai* "is looked upon as one of great authority among the Tamils of Jaffna." In fact, all the native writers who have tried their hand at the early history of the Northern peninsula have, till now, invariably drawn from this little chronicle. It is not a very old work. According to the author's own statement it was composed as late as the year 1736 or thereabouts; for Maccara, at whose instance it was undertaken, was Governor of the Dutch possessions in Ceylon at that time. We have, therefore, to take it for what it is worth, and this can be determined only by a critical examination of the sources utilized by the author.

The "Special preface" which is in verse²—the work itself being in prose—tells us that Mayilvākana-pulavar drew from the following older writings: (1) *Kailāya-mālai* (2) *Vaiyā-pādal*, (3) *Pararāsa-sēkaran-ulā* and (4) *Irāsa-murai*. These works deal with the period of native kings alone. We may well imagine that no records of the troublous times of the Portuguese conquest of Jaffna, followed by days little congenial to the production of Tamil literature, were left in the native tongue for our author to consult. For the history of these times he had to fall back upon oral traditions. Of the little he says of the Dutch period we can attribute only a small fraction to him. As Mr. Brito remarks: "The bold language in which the policy of the Dutch is described and the prophecies which the work contains relating to the English, must be regarded as interpolations of a later date."³

Confining our attention, therefore, to the earlier portion of the *Vaipava-malai*, we find that this can be divided into three distinct sections:

- I. The legendary section closing with the story of the *Yalppādi*; (pp. 1-13).
- II. the colonisation of Jaffna under Koolankaich-chakkaravartī (pp. 13-18).
- III. list of kings down to *Pararāsa-sēkaran* (pp. 18-26).

Of these, section I is in all probability based on the *Vaiyā-pādal*; Section II on the *Kailāya-mālai*, and Section III, on the *Irāsa-paramparai* and *Pararāsa sēkaran-ulā*. The last

1. Mr. C. Brito, Colombo, 1879.

2. This is the stanza in question:

பிரதர் தொருதழன் மெக்கெதனென் ரோதம்
உலாதேச யன்னன் உலாத்தமிழாத் தெய்த
வாராச வகலாயமால், தொன்னுங்
வரம்புகண்ட கட்டுவிரான் லையாபாடல்
பிரதர் சேகர்தன் உலாவுங்காலப்
படிவருவாததற் சம்பலம் கட்டும்
திராச முறைகளுந் தொத்தி யாழப்பாணத்தின்
செய்த மயிலவானலென் செப்பினுனெ.

Mr. Brito's translation slightly alters the sense of this stanza.

3. The F.P.M. Translator's preface.

two records supplying, apparently, the data for the most historical portion of the work is lost—a truly unfortunate thing. The *Kailāya-Mālai* has been recovered and printed.⁴ A good portion of the *Vaiyā-pādal* has been recently discovered.⁵ There exists also an old prose rendering of it, complete, which will help us to supply the lacunae of the incomplete original.

Leaving out, therefore, section III, on which we can pass no judgment before its sources are—if ever possible—brought to light, let us proceed to tackle Sections I and II of the work which now occupies our attention.

The *Vaiyā-pādal* opens with an episode from the *Rāmāyaṇam*, according to which Vipishāṇan had been made king of Ceylon in the room of his brother Rāvaṇan by no less a personage than Tāsaratā Rāman himself. A Yālpādī (Jutist), who was serving at the court of Vipishāṇan, clears the jungle of the Northern peninsula, then known as Maṇaltidal, plants gardens and groves, and, after bringing down a thousand Indian families to people the new land, crosses over to North Madura and obtains from king Kulakētu, the *maitunan* of Tāsaratā, one of his sons to become the ruler of this colony. This prince had one hand shorter than the other and was therefore known as Vijaya-Koolankaich-chakkaravarti. This was in Kali-yuga 3000 or B.C. 101.

Mayilvākana-pulavar has embodied this account in his book. But Vipishāṇan was a misty character of the remote past. And the events connected with the Sinhalese history, which the Pulavar had, without doubt, known through the *Mahavanso* tradition, had to be reckoned with. So he dexterously sandwiches these events between the reign of that puranic celebrity (p. 1) and the so-called colonisation under the Yālpādī (p. 13). Again, the Pulavar had no doubt that Vijaya was a Saivite. For, when that adventurer left India, Buddhism was not a full-fledged faith. It was an easy task for him, therefore, to connect the more ancient Saivite temples of Ceylon with its famous conqueror. (p. 3.) Likewise, the coming out of the oldest families of Brahmins was naturally bracketed with the origin of these temples. (p. 1-2). Again, it was too notorious a fact to be ignored, that the Sinhalese had held Jaffna before the modern Tamil settlers ever set their foot here, and there seems to have been an idea that the former had come from Siam.⁶ So, the Pulavar adds that Vijaya had brought the Buddhist settlers from "Siam and other parts of Burma and placed them in different parts of the country." (p. 2.) And when the Yālpādī brought his Tamil settlers he is made to rule over "the new colonists and the Sinhalese natives whom he treated alike" (p. 13).

The *Vaiyā-pādal* places the story of Mārutap-piravika-valli after the colonisation by Yālpādī and follows it up with the arrival of sixty Vannias in connection with the marriage of Vararāsa-sinkan, the man-lion son of Ukkirasinkan by that Chola princess. One of the Vannias, afterwards, stays with Vararāsa-sinkan at Kandy, while the rest conquer Adankāppattu and rule it under the overlordship of Jaffna; they invite the various Indian castes and clans, which we now find settled in Jaffna and the Vanni including Tampalakāman and Koddīāram. Eventually, fifty-four of the Vannias are slain in a battle with the Parankis (!) and the remain-

4. By Mr. T. Kayikāyilal of Jaffna in 1905.

See also Brito op. cit. pp. xlii-xliii.

5. By Mr. Arudapingalam of the Central College, Jaffna. I possess two MSS of the prose rendering. Mr. Brito translates the greater portion of this opusculum in his F.V.M. (pp. xxx-xxxiv) and remarks: "The above is a work of no authority. It is a confusion of persons, places, dates and events." Still, I hold that it is out of this confusion that the author of the F.V.M. has endeavoured to build up the first section of his work. How far he has succeeded in accomplishing this rare task will be seen in the text.

The prose *Vaiyā* has been also quoted by Mr. J. P. Lewis in the first chapter of his *Memorial of the Vanni* but under the name of *Kalcedon*.

6. We learn this from De Quoyres: *Cronica Temporal e espiritual de Ceilan*. p. 4. He compares Bengal with Siam.

ing five return to India but are drowned on their way thither. In the meantime the wives of all the sixty Vannias, with their swordsmen and other attendants, leave India in order to meet their husbands in Ceylon. Hearing, on the way, of the death of the fifty-four, an equal number of the Vannichis mount the funeral pyre, one goes to Kandy to find her lord, and the remaining five reach the Vanni unaware of the tragic end of their husbands, and subsequently become Vannipam (rulers of the Vanni), their new husbands being known as Ayutanti.⁷ Into this story is woven an episode of two pirate chiefs, Vedi-arasan and Meerā. They are defeated by Meekā-man, a fisher chief, who was sent to Ceylon from Madura to obtain Nāga-rubies for the anklet of Kannakai (!) and form the Mukkuwa colony of Batticaloa and the Moorish one of Vidattattivu.

Thus far the *Vaiyā-pādal*. The writer of that opusculum had put the different legends of his day pell-mell, without any regard to chronology. Mayilavākana-pulavar, on the other hand, had to fit them with the statements of another document which doubtless he had before his eyes. This was *Koṇṇṇar-Kalveddu*,⁸ or at any rate the tradition derived from it. Thus we find him following this document with regard to the Vannias who, according to it, were brought down in connection with the Koṇṇṇar temple by Kuḷak-kōddan, another nebulous hero about whom more in the sequel. But before bringing Kuḷak-kōddan and his temple to the notice of his readers, he takes care to safeguard what to him appears the greater antiquity of the Nakulēsar temple by throwing in a word on Kiri-malai and on the legend of a mungoose-faced sage which has grown round that temple. Then, harmonising the *Vaiyā*'s statement and that of the *Kalveddu* with regard to the Vannias, our author declares that the Vannias invited by Kuḷak-kōddan also received "an accession of fifty nine new families from Pāndi" (p. 7).

This number "fifty nine" is unquestionably from the *Vaiyā-pādal* as the story of Kuḷak-kōddan bringing the Vannias is from the *Kalveddu*. He then takes up the episode of the pirate chiefs, now metamorphosed into Usuman and Sēntan (probably to account for the two village names: Usuman-turai and Sēntan-kaḷam), and succeeds in tracing out a cause for these chiefs afterwards migrating to Batticaloa and to "the sea-coast far removed from Kiri-malai" (p. 5). The circumstances of five Vannias being drowned, sixty Vannichis coming out to meet their husbands with their swordsmen, &c., and fifty-four of them committing suicide, reappear in the reign of Sankily transformed into the following: Forty-nine Vannias come out to join their caste in Ceylon. They are all lost at sea except one Karaippiddy Vannian who reaches Jaffna; he is stabbed to death and his Vannichi commits suicide; the sixty swordsmen in their pay are degraded into Nalavas. (pp. 34-35). The transmutation of numbers in the two stories, which nevertheless present the same chief events faithfully, is interesting.

As for Mārutap-piravika-valli herself, the *Vaiyā-pādal* tells us that she was the daughter of Tisai-ukkira-chōlan, father-in-law or uncle of Kooḷankaich-chakkaravarti. She and her brother, Sinka-kētu, visited Ceylon for the purpose of bathing in the sacred spring of Kiri-malai. Here she was cured of a deformity in the face which had resembled that of a horse. From this marvel the country came to be known as Mā-vidda-puram. They travelled on to Katir-kāmam and on their return journey Mārutap-piravika-valli had, by Ukkirasinkan, a son born with a tail, who resembled a man lion.

7. Portuguese: *Ajudante*—Adjutant.

8. Printed with the *Tolaiṇa-ṭaṭṭai-puramam*, about which see Note 12. The prose portion of the *Kalveddu* looks older on the whole than the verse. It is attributed to a certain Kavirāsar who appears to contribute a "Special preface" to the *Tolaiṇa-ṭaṭṭai-puramam*. If so, it is as old as this work. Mr. Brilo who gives a good summary of the *Kalveddu* in his P.V.M. (pp. xxxix—xlvi), says that it is unquestionably a work of great antiquity, but it bears evident marks of having received additions from time to time up to very recent dates.

Before Mr. Brilo, Mr. Gode Chetty had given a summary of the *Kalveddu* in the Govt. Gazette of 1921. See title reproduced in the *Ceylon Literary Digest* I, 19.

Cholan, Vararāma Tevan, has worshipped before him. He builds the temple and its towers, makes the sin-dispelling well, and appoints a line of Vannias to see to the maintenance of the temple and its worship. He invites Brahmans from India to officiate in it. Now there comes another character on the stage. Ādaka-savuntary¹⁰ was a Kalinga princess born with a deformity and on that account committed to the waves enclosed in an ark. The ark was wafted on Ceylon shores and picked up by the king of Uppāsa-kiri. The child was adopted by the king and in course of time succeeded him as ruler of Ceylon. It was during her reign that Kuḷak-kōddan was busying himself with the pious work of restoring the temple. The report of his activities reaches her ears and forthwith she despatches an army to drive him out of the island; but this only results in a friendly understanding and Kuḷak-kōddan marries her at Uppāsa-kiri. They both retire to Tiri-kayilai where a son named Sinka-kumāran is born. Afterwards they return to Uppāsa-kiri and make him king.

Now it will appear at a glance that the two accounts are not independent of each other. Both are, in fact, substantially the same, if we make allowance for a confusion of names and places. In the one case it is a Chola princess who builds a Ceylon temple¹¹ and espouses a prince of the Kalinga family. In the other, it is a Chola prince who builds a Ceylon temple and espouses a princess of the Kalinga family. In both the cases the princess is sent to Ceylon on account of a personal deformity. But what is a conclusive argument for the identity of both the stories is that both point to the head of a new dynasty in Ceylon practically with the same name, i.e. Vāla-sinkan and Sinka-kumāran.

On the other hand there can be no doubt that the story of Kuḷak-kōddan and Ādaka-savuntary is earlier than that of Ukkira-sinkan and Mārutap-piravika-valli, just as the shrine of Kōṇēsar is older than that of Nakulēsar. We know that the former temple was of equal celebrity with Tirukkēṭichchuram as early as the seventh century A.D.; for, Tīru-Guāna-sambantar has sung them both in his *Tevāram* hymns. But we hear nothing of Kiri-malai till such comparatively recent times as the *Vaiyā-pādal* and the *Kayilāya-mālai* represent. As for Mārutap-piravika-valli the *Takshina-kayilāsa-purāṇam*¹² makes no mention of her, not even in the incoherent episode¹³ of the Kāntaruvan or lutist connected with the Rāvanan myth, in which Kiri-malai figures as an ordinary *tīrtam*. The *Tiruk-kōṇāsala-purāṇam* does indeed represent her as visiting Kiri-malai in the course of her peregrinations through the many sacred places of Ceylon. But this work is of our own days¹⁴ and the story is again different in details

10. Her name, the deformity in question, and some other details disclose the fact that this legend has much in common with those of Tāḍakāl in the *Rāmāyaṇam* and Tāḍakāl-pirāṇḍi in the *Tiruvālmōḍi-purāṇam*. The author of the *V. V. M.* makes Ādaka-savuntary the queen of Pāṇḍu (p. 8). See how this equation enables him to fix some dates (pp. 7 and 9). This is clearly a device to make a distinct personage of Mārutap-piravika-valli whereas she is actually identical with Ādaka-savuntary.

11. Kuḷak-kōddan repaired the temple of Tambala-Rāman and the old temple of Kiri-malai is called by the *V. V. M.* *Tiruttimpala-leuran-kōl* (p. 3). There is surely some identity behind this resemblance of names.

12. First edition printed at Madras, 1887. A second edition, which seems to follow older MSS, was printed at Jaffna, 1914. Internal evidence shows that this work could not have been written after the period of the native kings, i.e., after 1659. Its "Special preface" is attributed in the first edition to Arasu-Kēzari and in the second to Kavi-virarākavan. If the latter is the blind poet who visited Pararasē-sēkaran's court, his time should probably be placed before 1571. This is the Pararasē-sēkaran (mukhammad Rīz fortā) who was a friend of letters and who could have composed the verses attributed to the Jaffna king in Kavi-virarākavan's life. It was also under this king that Arasu Kēzari composed the *Irako Vanniam*. See my *History of Jaffna* during the Portuguese period of Ceylon History p. 24. Also Mr. S. W. Coomaraswami's *South Indian Mythology* p. 112-3. A certain Kavi-virar too contributes a "Special preface" to the *Tōḍiṇṇu-Kyṭṭiṇṇu-purāṇam*. If he is identical with the author of the *Kōṇēsar Kūṭṭiṇṇu* (as the editor of the former work thinks), then both the works belong to the same period.

13. It is clearly an interpolation as the editor remarks. See page 20.

14. "Its author, Mr. Maḍḍamū Mutukumaru, is a native of Trincomalee where he still lives" Mr. Brito in his *V. V. M.* Page xxviii.

from that of the *Vaipava-mālai*. Certain it is that both these works have each spun its own yarn from the legend handed down by that most uncritical document ever put on paper—the *Vaiyā-pādal*.

In all probability the legend of Mārutap-piravika-valli originated as folk-lore in connection with a noted shrine of old days. We have a parallel to this in all the ruins of old buildings in Jaffna being popularly attributed to some princess or other. Compare the legend concerning Alli-arasāny and Kumāratty. The circumstance of Mārutap-piravika-valli's miraculous cure is probably to be traced to the influence of the legend of Adakasavuntary, which itself owed its origin to some ancient floating myth, while her equine face would be naturally suggested by the place name Mā-vidda-puram.¹⁵ But folk-lore went a step further. It would connect this beautiful legend with another not less beautiful—that of Yālpādī. And nothing was easier. The Kuḷak-kōddan tradition was there, ready to furnish all the missing links. That celebrated Chola prince who married a princess of his own country miraculously brought to Unnāsa-kiri was no other—it was discovered—than the lion-faced Ukkira-sinkan who married Mārutap-piravika-valli at Katiraimalai¹⁶ and reigning as the sole monarch of Ceylon bestowed the Northern peninsula on the Yālpādī!¹⁷

But who was this Yālpādī? I find it a clumsy attempt to derive Yālpāṇam from Yālpādī. If there was question of a Yālpāṇan as the coloniser of our peninsula all would be well. Yālpāṇan is a classical word meaning one whose occupation and caste-duty is to play on the lute. And a country connected with a Yālpāṇan can very correctly be called Yālpāṇam.¹⁸ Again, it is contrary to fact to say that Jaffna was made habitable and colonised only so late as the epoch assigned to Kooḷankaichchakkaravarti. Mayilvākana-pulavar corrects the *Vaiyā-pādal* with regard to the previous inhabitants of Jaffna, but adheres to the legend of the Yālpādī as all native writers have ever since done. He ventures even further in search of the antecedents of his hero and commits an anachronism by identifying him with the blind poet, Vira-rākavan, who indeed seems to have actually visited the court of a Ceylon king but as late as the sixteenth or the seventeenth century.¹⁹

The mention of the Yālpādī, however, is met, for the first time in native writings, only in the *Vaiyā-pādal*.²⁰ The original *Takṣiṇa-Kayilāsa-purāṇam* has no reference to it. There seems, therefore, to be no doubt that the entire legend was conjured up as an explanation for the place name Yālpāṇam. But unfortunately for the etymologists who built up such a romantic story on a name, Yālpāṇam is probably in no way connected with

15. I venture to think that "puram" in this name actually represents "Varan" (for viharu) as in Suddi-puram, Sullipuram and Tol-puram. See this discussed by me in the *Ceylon Antiquary*, III, 122. "Māvidda" stands perhaps for Māha-vāta or sacred Wera-tree as suggested by Mr. S. W. Coomaraswamy in his op. cit. p. 122. There are many pulams or arable lands in Jaffna known as Māvattai and it is quite conceivable that a Māvattai-pulam came to be called Māvattai-puram—which would have given a chance to popular etymologists to connect a horse with it. I notice a Vadda-Kaladdy in Poyidā (or Kōdā) near Athurugai. Poyidā itself is known as Suddi-puram, no doubt with reference to a Viḥara which stood on the site.

16. A plausible suggestion has been made by Mr. H. W. Codrington, C. C. S. in his lecture before the Jaffna Historical Society (on 12th Feb. 1926) to the effect that Ukkirasinkan and Jayatunkan might be identified with Maḡha and Jayabāhu (1215-1236).

17. See this discussed at length by Mr. Coomaraswamy in opus cit. pp. 128-30.

18. See Note 12 supra.

19. It would seem that the *Vaiyā* was composed during the times of the last Jaffna kings. See the traditions about the writer of this work in Mr. Mootootamby Pillai's *Jaffna History* 2nd edition, p. 49. The Portuguese knew the story of the Yālpāṇan. For De Queiroz (p. 37) speaks of "the colony of the lord Jaffna which is the name of the first coloniser."

either *Yāḷ* ²⁰ or *pāṇan*. Learned opinion is now in favour of a Sinhalese origin to the name of the Ancient Tamil apital. ²¹ *Yāpā-ne* is a good Sinhalese equivalent for Nallur: "Yāpā" means good and "ne" is a common Sinhalese ending for village names. The earliest mention of the name is, in fact, in the Sinhalese. ²² Tamil works of the period of Jaffna kings always speak of Sinkai-nakar as the capital of the North, while later ones call it Nallur. All this shows that the story of the Yāḷppādi is to be abandoned root and branch.

The real historical portion of the *Vaipava-mālai* begins with Kooḷankaich-chakkaravarti. On the alleged colonisation of Jaffna once more under him (pp. 14-18) little need be said here. The author has closely followed the *Kayilāya-mālai* which represents the local traditions of each village with regard to its reputable or perhaps reputed ancestors.

There follows then (pp. 18-27) a list of kings—is it complete?—with brief chronicles on the reign of each and this looks firmer ground to tread. The author has, in all probability, bodily "lifted" the *Irāsamurai* into his work, slightly abridging it, perhaps, as he has done in the case of the *Kayilāya-mālai*. But from Pararāsa-sēkaran ²³ onwards he seems to have entirely depended, as already stated, on oral traditions for his information—hence his glaring inaccuracies with regard to the kings of the Portuguese period of Ceylon History. ²⁴

The greater portion of the "prophecy" of Supatiddamuni is from *Vaiyā-pādal* which ascribes it to the time of Kanakachakkaravarti son of Kooḷankaichchakkaravarti! Additions to the "prophecy" have been made from time to time down to the coming of our present rulers and we are bidden, by the latest interpolator, to look forward to the appearance of king Vāla-sinkan, to whom the Pirānchu and Ulantēsu kings will deliver the kingdom of Lanka which they will have wrested from the Intirēsu man!

20. My esteemed friend Mudaliyar C. Rāmalingam would see the Kingdom of Jaffna in a reference to the Vernal flag in *Kelimpattunavarai* (1.8). But there is no evidence for the flag having ever been on the standard of the kings of Jaffna. Mr. Brito says somewhere that the sign *gurusai* was the emblem for Jaffna. How he made that out is not clear to me. The *Sarasoli-malai*, a work of the 13th century, gives the Yāḷas the auspicious sign of Tundi and makes no mention of Jaffna at all. On the other hand we know from *Selaras-sēkara-mālai* and other sources that the Bull and Setu were on the Jaffna flag, and the Jaffna coinage bore the same emblem. See my paper on the "Forgotten Coinage of the kings of Jaffna," *Ceylon Advertiser*, V pp. 172-79.

21. See the *Ceylon Advertiser*, 11.56, 117.

Also Mr. Coomaraswamy *op. cit.* p. 130.

22. The *Selāḷālai Sūdēṣṣu* (13th century) has *Yāpā-pāṇana* (stanza 22).

Also the *Kūḷiḷi Sūdēṣṣu* of the same period (stanza 6).

Is there an earlier instance?

23. The author of the *Jaffna History* says that "the *Irāsamurai* was compiled a little before the Portuguese conquest of Jaffna." (p. 7). But he does not give his authority for it.

24. See "The Kings of Jaffna during the Portuguese period of Ceylon History," *Jaffna*, 1903.

THE FIRST CEYLON POET⁽¹⁾—CAPTAIN THOMAS AJAX ANDERSON.

By J. PENRY LEWIS, C.M.G., C.C.S. (Retired.)

TO His Majesty's 19th Foot belongs the distinction—of importance from the point of view of the Colony—of having produced from among its commissioned officers, not only the first Englishman of the British *régime* to write a book on Ceylon, but also the first to publish a volume of poems on the subject. These were contemporaries, Capts. Robert Percival (1765-1826) and Thomas Ajax Anderson (1783-1825). Both are, of course, included in that monument of industry and accuracy, Major Ferrar's *Officers of the Green Howards*; Percival has a short biography in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, Anderson has none anywhere—beyond the outline of his services that is happily now the memorial that every 19th officer has received.

Anderson was born in 1783 and received a commission as ensign in the 19th on July 15th, 1799. The regiment was then in India and Ceylon, and Anderson must have proceeded to join it either in India or Ceylon at once, for in 1817, when he published his *Wanderer*, he tells his readers in the preface that for "eighteen years the author, in his military career, has been doomed to wander over the interesting island of Ceylon," and in his "Adieu to Ceylon," too, written on the voyage home towards the end of 1816, he remarks:—

"Oh! I could dwell on friends belov'd,
For ever from my life remov'd,
Who eighteen summers since with me,
First gaily ploughed this smiling sea."

In another poem in the same volume, which was published in 1817, he makes the period of his sojourn in the East still longer:—

"Some twenty years of chequer'd die
Have since in various climes gone by;
For I was doom'd with sail unfurl'd,
To seek the distant Indian world,
My country's standard to display,
Where Timor once held regal sway,
Where mosques, with moon-crown'd columns gleam,
On that imperial hallow'd stream."

But it cannot have been so long as eighteen or twenty years if he went out in 1800. Either he has exaggerated, or, which is possible, for he seems to have had relatives living in India, he was already there or in Ceylon when he was gazetted to the 19th. One of these relatives was probably "Alexander Anderson, Esq., late Superintending Surgeon in Mysore,"

1. By this expression is here meant the first Englishman to write poetry on the subject of Ceylon.

to whom he dedicated one of his "Poems written chiefly in India." He has some lines also in his other book "To the Memory of a Young Lady," a relative of his "who died upon her journey from Madras to a distant part of India."

It seems likely that it was the half-battalion of the regiment that was in India that he joined. It should be explained that five companies of the 19th embarked for India from Ceylon in February, 1799, to join the army operating against Seringapatam and rejoined at Colombo early in 1800. But he must have spent some time in India, either before he joined or on leave,² for in 1809 he published in England *Poems Written Chiefly in India*, and both this and his later book of poems contain descriptions of Indian life and scenery. For instance, one in the former book, entitled "The Delights of India," describes that country of "the burning land wind," as one

"Where everlasting tom-toms sound,
And with their barb'rous noise confound,
And quite destroy your rest."

It was no doubt on his way to Ceylon that he stopped at Ramnad, and in a "choultry," where he wrote this sonnet:—

"Hail, pious Fane! majestic in decay,
The way-worn traveller's solace and delight!
There may I pass the burning noon away
And rest my fainting frame till fall of night!
The child of poverty may enter here,
Without a bribe a shelter may obtain,
Nor wilt imploring eye look round in vain
And dread a venal landlord's scornful sneer!
A thousand blessings on the land that rear'd
This grateful shelter in a scene so rude!
Now can I journey through this solitude
With strength recruited, and with spirits cheer'd,
Blush! Britain! blush! Beneath thy gloomy skies
The wretch that cannot purchase shelter dies!"

From which it appears that though he disliked some native customs, such as tom-toming, he much approved of this one of providing rest-houses for travellers of all classes.

He sings the praises of a Ceylon "choultry," or "amblomb," too, in the *Wanderer*, and points for the benefit of

"England, my country though thou art
Entwin'd around my very heart,"

the same moral.

On his arrival in Ceylon, whether from England or India, he was for a year quartered at Colombo, and liked the place:—

"How passing strange the compass of a year
A foreign residence should so endear."

2. He did not accompany the 19th when it went over from Ceylon to India to take part in the operations in Travancore in 1800, for he had gone on leave to England 1st October, 1807, and did not return till the end of 1810.

He writes a sonnet to Julia "On leaving Colombo" :—

" At early morn how often have I stray'd,
Amid thy pleasure-giving gardens where
The cinnamon perfum'd the balmy air,
And all its aromatic sweets display'd.
How oft at eve, what time the moon-beam smil'd,
Upon thy silver lake's unspotted breast,
Have I with thee, sweet maid, the hour beguil'd,
While thou hast lulled each busy thought to rest.
Julia, farewell, enchanting scenes, adieu !
I feel the rising tear my cheek bedew."

and when he had finally left the island, he had his regrets :—

" Ceylon ! I envy still thy spicy shores."

What, however, is certain is that, having been gazetted Lieutenant on November 17th, 1801, he was, in June 1802, quartered at Trincomalee, and that, in 1803, though only twenty years of age, he was already married, for he and Mrs. Anderson both put their names down among the Trincomalee subscribers to the " poems " of Mrs. Grant, of Laggan—the lady whose sole claim to remembrance in the literary world is that she was the author of " Where, and oh where is my Highland laddie gone ? " He accompanied a detachment of the 19th Regiment that marched with Lieut.-Col. Barbut's force from Trincomalee to Kandy, leaving the latter place on February 14th and reaching Kandy on February 21st, 1803. Here he remained for a month, keeping a diary of his daily movements and of events in the life of the gradually diminishing garrison, but fortunately for himself he was sent back on March 20th to Trincomalee with twelve convalescent Europeans and an escort of thirty men of the Malay Regiment, and thereby escaping the debacle which overtook the garrison at the end of June. This diary, with letters to himself after he left Kandy, written by officers of its garrison during the harrowing time that succeeded, he published as an appendix to his *Poems Written Chiefly in India*, of which, it must be admitted, it forms the most valuable portion.*

He was back at Trincomalee on March 28th, and here he probably remained for the next four years, during which the only eventful things that happened were the march of a detachment to Kandy under Capt. Arthur Johnston and its wonderful retreat therefrom when that gallant officer found, on his arrival, the place entirely abandoned by the British, an achievement in which Anderson had no personal share ; and in the next place the birth in the same year at Trincomalee of a daughter (March 26th).

At some time during this period he was " Paymaster and adjutant to a Corps of Pioneers."

On September 24th, 1807, he left Trincomalee, and on October 1st, Ceylon for England. On his return to Ceylon, after a furlough of over three years, during which he obtained his company (October 4th, 1809), he was appointed (December 1st, 1810) to the command of Calpentyne, a place of importance in the time of the Dutch, with an old 17th century fort, situated on the western shore of an extensive lagoon on the west coast, half-way between Colombo and Mannar. But he was not suffered to remain here in peace, for on April 3rd, 1811, he was tried by court-

* This appendix is not found in all copies of the book : it is wanting, e.g., in the British Museum copy.
† So he states in his *Poems*.

martial on the curious charge of "having submitted to be told by his commanding officer, Lieut.-Col. Stuart, that he had told a lie, and secondly for not having fulfilled his written promise to leave the regiment within a year of his leaving for England on September 24th, 1807."

Possibly it had been made a condition of his obtaining his prolonged leave that he should not return and thereby disturb other arrangements made to facilitate it, or possibly he was unpopular in consequence of his practice of writing verse on all occasions. But these proceedings against him virtually came to nothing. He was acquitted on the first charge but convicted on the second. He was, in April 1812, "publicly reprimanded," but he was not required to leave the regiment. Nor is it certain that he was unpopular in the regiment. The "Appendix to his Poems," already mentioned, contains letters from several officers of the 19th; the book itself is dedicated "To W. S. Andrews, Esq., late His Majesty's 19th Regiment of Foot . . . in token of grateful attachment by his affectionate friend and fellow soldier, the Author." This officer was a surgeon who had served with the 19th in the Kandyan campaign of 1803, and had very likely been with the latter on leave in England, for, having during Anderson's leave been gazetted to the 67th Foot, he was on December 24th, 1808 "superseded for absence."

Anderson had friends, too, in the Ceylon Civil Service, for he describes as a friend of his one of the most distinguished members of it, William Tolfrey, who had fought at Assaye as a captain in the 73rd, had written, referring to the Kandyan War of 1815, *A Narrative of Recent Events in Ceylon, by a Gentleman on the Spot*, and had devoted all his spare time in Ceylon to translating the New Testament into Sinhalese. He was also a friend of Simon Sawyer, the Collector of Batticaloa, and was one of the signatories to the address given to the latter on his departure from Trincomalee in 1816. He was full of appreciation of the first Governor, the Hon. Frederick North—

"This darling of Ceylon,
Whose talents all admire,
Whose virtues few attain,"

and wrote lines on his illness.

But the civil and military authorities of the later period of his Ceylon career do not seem to have appreciated him, and the staff is his *bête noir*.

He bids them farewell with some bitterness:—

"Farewell, ye Staff with formal face,
In all the pomp and 'pride of place.'
Of you I have not much to say,
I never touch'd your double pay,
But ever was a luckless sinner
Who seldom shar'd a King's House dinner;
While every idle word that hung
Upon my heedless pen or tongue
Was deem'd a sly intended hit
To show my wicked wanton wit."

These lines addressed to the Staff seem to support the view that he owed some unpopularity to his poetry, but the reason for his dislike to the Staff is perhaps to be found in the fourth line. He was a married man with a family, and the "double pay" no doubt would have been useful.

He had his likes and dislikes and they seem to have been violent. The Wesleyan missionaries arrived at Batticaloa—the first British missionaries to come to the island—while he was quartered there in 1816, and he took a decided dislike to them, not unnaturally perhaps in an age which read Sydney Smith and disliked "enthusiasm" in religious matters. He expresses this in the following lines in his "Adieu to Ceylon":—

"Farewell, ye missionary crew,
Though ye a heavenly call pursue,
Ye hold self-interest still in view,
I deem you all a whining tribe,
Nor to your creed, or fund subscribe."

Of his domestic experiences we have but slight hints and scanty information. He was twice married, but of his first wife's maiden name and Christian name we know nothing. Reference has been made to a daughter born at Trincomalee in 1804. It seems to have been this daughter who, with another daughter by "Sarah his (second) wife," was baptized at the Fort Church, Colombo, on April 10th, 1808.⁸ She is entered in the register as "Julia, daughter of Capt. T. A. Anderson and—his wife." We hope his first wife was "Julia," too, for in a very passionate, if not erotic poem, he apostrophises a lady in these terms:

"Then come, my Julia, bless my sight,
In all thy heavenly beauty bright.
Let me once more, in these fond arms,
Enfold thy nectar-breathing charms;
Oh, haste to fix thy lips on mine!
We'll taste of blisses all divine.
Nor quit the love-exciting strife,
Till fainting on the verge of life,
And pillow'd on each other's breast,
By slow degrees we sink to rest."

And he tells another, Camilla, how strangely she recalls Julia to him:—

"Thy native elegance and ease,
So void of affectation,
That faultless form, that polish'd mind,
So passing expectation!
These, these are beauties that recall
My absent fair to me!
I see my Julia's long lost charms,
Camilla, all in thee."

He talks, too, of "my Julia's last farewell." But perhaps too much significance should not be attached to these reminiscent flights, for elsewhere he speaks of "the lamented Charlotte," and, besides Camilla, has appeals to Mary and Emma. He was evidently an admirer of the sex, and seems to have found perfection, for in "Lines to Three Sisters," he vows that in one or perhaps each one of them—

"All these bright accomplishments combine,
And in one interesting female shine."

⁸ In English baptismal registers the maiden name of the wife is never given, but in Dutch it is never omitted.

But it was not she alone that deserved this adjective—one of the most eulogistic epithets of Georgian times. Elsewhere he bids adieu to another

"Sweet, interesting maid."

By his second wife, Sarah, he had other children. A son, Danvers Wentmore, was baptized at the Fort Church, Colombo, on September 6th, 1811, and a third daughter, Victoria Maria Frances Molesworth, was buried at Trincomalee on June 24th, 1816. Her godfather was probably Viscount Molesworth, of the 1st Ceylon Regiment,* who had been commandant at Trincomalee, and, who, with the Viscountess, was lost in the transport *Arniston* in 1815; but this wife seems to have either died in Ceylon like the first, or else to have preceded her husband to England, for in his "Adieu to Ceylon" of 1816, he bewails his solitary condition:—

"While I, now friendless and alone,
With blighted health and prospects flown,
Am left to pour this joyless lay,
O'er early ties, long swept away."

He alludes to it again at the end of *The Wanderer*:—

"For I, o'er all I love have wept,
Untimely from my bosom swept."

To return now to Anderson's military career. In the Kandyan War of 1815 he commanded the "7th Division," which marched from Batticaloa to Kandy. It did not arrive there in time to be present at the entrance of the British troops into the hill capital. He seems to have had an accident while at Kandy, for he was, on June 25th, 1821, awarded a temporary pension of £100 "for injuries sustained in the performance of military duties there."

In 1815 and 1816 he was commandant of Batticaloa. He embarked with his family for England on the *Alexander* on November 7th of the latter year. He was placed on half-pay of the 60th Foot on April 8th, 1819. Where he lived, where he died in England is not known to me. He writes the "Introduction to the Wanderer" from "Chelsea, 1st June, 1817." His death took place on January 8th, 1824, in his forty-second year.

During the first period of his sojourn in the East, Anderson had tried his hand at "Poems" of sorts, translations of Tamil songs, and epitaphs on his friends, Major Blair, Capt. Napper of the 51st, and Lieut.-Col. Hunter of his own regiment. At the beginning of the second period he was contemplating something more ambitious.

In April 1812, he announced in the *Ceylon Government Gazette* the speedy publication of "*Ceylon; A Poem in Three Cantos*, by Captain Anderson, H. M.'s 19th Regiment." But it did not appear until 1817, after his arrival in England, and a change was made in the title. It was published as *The Wanderer in Ceylon; A Poem in Three Cantos*, and in 1819 it reached a second edition. So it must to some extent have been appreciated.

It is not surprising that the book met with a favourable reception from the British public, which had become interested in Ceylon from the recent acquisition of the island and the conquest of Kandy; the descriptions published by Capt. Percival, the Rev. James Cordiner and Viscount Valentia, and the article in the *Edinburgh Review* by Sydney Smith. People wanted to know more about it, and Anderson's poem was easy reading and was reminiscent of Sir Walter Scott, the leading poet of the time. But like other and better poetry, it is now forgotten.

* The alternative is that the Viscountess was her god-mother.

The novelty has worn off, and Ceylon does not attract much attention in the literary world or inspire a greater poet.

From the *Wanderer* and the other poems included in that book as well as in his first book, it is possible to obtain some inkling of his birth, nationality and upbringing, though even these suggestions may be misleading. In the first place there is no doubt that he was born in Scotland:—

"Dear Scotland, hail! where oft my infant feet,
In playful mood have rov'd along the burn";

And his "harass'd bosom" would beat with joy if he could return once more to its "dark heaths," but fate has decreed that he should never see them again.

"Or glad an ancient helpless parent's aged eye."

It might be possible even to identify the town or village in whose neighbourhood he was born—

"Even now I view the rising down,
That joins the outskirts of the town,
Where once I stood and bade farewell
To scenes and objects lov'd so well."

His birthplace was a mere hamlet, quite in the country, and with an old castle near it,
"embattled time-worn tower"—

"His unambitious kindred lived
Far from the world, within a social dell,
For near the style (*sic*) that bounds yon field,
My long-lost dwelling lies conceal'd."

It was in a thatch'd house, by a grove of elms—

"Those spreading elms near which it stands,
Were planted by my father's hands,
And now I view its roof of thatch"

The village was some distance away—

"But hark once more the distant village bells,"
One might suppose that he had been at Eton—

"Imprison'd here, no more I share
The twilight converse of the fair,
No more prolong the social walk,
Intent on tender theme to talk,
Where Eton throws her classic shade,
And once my frolic boyhood stray'd;
No more those well-known turrets seem
Reflected in the willowy stream."

But an examination of the school registers, made at the instance of Major Ferrar, failed to discover any record of his name in them.

The *Wanderer* is written in the metre that had recently been made popular by Sir Walter Scott—the octo-syllabic or romantic rhyming measure, adopted earlier by Southey, later

by Byron and Tom Moore.⁷ It describes Ceylon scenery and life with considerable facility of diction, accuracy and animation, and altogether is a pleasantly written poem—though it is true that it may not contain much that can be strictly called poetry. There are "word pictures"—this sounds like one of the *clichés* of the reviewer, but it is exactly what they are—of the more familiar Ceylon scenes, all set out with a never-varying regularity that becomes monotonous, for Anderson did not follow his master by judiciously varying the rhythm, as Scott did, thereby "triumphing," as Byron said, over the "fatal facility of the octo-syllabic verse."

We have described for us, Colombo at dawn and at midday, with the Fort, the Pettah, Wolyendahl Church, Slave Island, the Kelani River with its mangroves, the harbour with its fishing canoes and its dhonies, the paddy-field, the huts and boutiques of the natives, cocoa-nut topes, the primeval forest, the bo tree, the talipot, the forests and rivers of the dry regions, a rock temple, the Kandyan country, Adam's Peak, the debacle at Kandy in 1803, and its recent conquest, Buddhist temples and rites as contrasted (much to their advantage) with those of the Hindu religion. He ends with reflections on the Pettah Burial Ground and his comrades resting there with the gallant naval men:—

"Who, at their country's beck,
Have firmly trod the reeking deck."

"Some to these distant shores who came
In tented fields to purchase fame,
Who proudly hop'd a name to raise,
That bards might harp in future days,
But found, too late, these forests yield
No glorious wreath, no hard-fought field;
Disease, the warrior's wily foe,
Has laid their sanguine ardour low;
And with the coward and the slave
They share one undistinguished grave."

These lines might well form the epitaph on the memorial of the officers and men of the 19th and 51st and of native regiments who perished in the Kandyan Expedition of 1803—that monument that has still to be erected.

He loves these Ceylon scenes:—

"Yon purple hills that nobly swell,
The sunny plain, the shady dell,
The rifted rock, the trackless wood,
The sleeping lake, the rushing flood,
The ocean bright as burnished steel";

but still he is not happy:

"Yet all this glowing scenery
Imparts no sense of joy to me
No social, sympathetic band,
Endears to me this lovely land."

7. "The Lay of the Last Minstrel" had appeared in 1805; "Marmion" in 1808; and "The Lady of the Lake" in 1810. No doubt Anderson had been studying them, when, in 1812, he issued his prospectus of *Ceylon: A Poem in Three Cantos*.

He misses the singing birds of his native land, the blackbird, the thrush, the lark (but this could have been heard at Trincomalee), the linnet, and the nightingale (but there are no nightingales in Scotland). It was on account of this home sickness that he took to writing poetry, but still though deprived of these "sweet-toned warblers of the grove,"

"Yet not unmusical to me
The evening murmurs of the bee—

And I can view with deep delight
Those fire-flies sparkling on my sight."

and he finds some satisfaction—"a ray of pleasure" when in melancholy mood,

"In listening to the forest dove,
Who seems to wail her absent love."

But it is writing poetry that has saved him when he had

"... lost all energy of mind
To apathy my soul resign'd."

And this is a sufficient excuse for his attempting to write it too. For one result, the publication of *The Wanderer in Ceylon*, we of a century later are grateful, and we should be sorry if the author's forecast that he and his *Wanderer* be completely forgotten came true: that

"E'en he a trifler 'mid the throng
Who boast the melody of song,
Who pours this meditative lay,"

should, besides having no memorial like the unrecorded dead of the Pettah,

"... as vainly claim
Some slight memento of his name."

"And not a living soul retain
The memory of his idle strain,
Fled like a summer's morning haze,
That vanishes e'en while we gaze."

ANTIQUITIES IN THE SOUTHERN PROVINCE.

DIARY OF THE LATE MR. E. R. AYRTON.

(Archaeological Commissioner of Ceylon)

WITH NOTES BY JOHN M. SENAVERATNA

(Continued from Vol. VI., Page 93).

STAR FORT, MATARA.

5-3-14 Went to Star Fort and was shown over by Drieberg, D. E. This small Fort is almost perfect and such a gem that it should certainly be kept clean and as a show place. The D. E.'s house should be removed completely. It is a cadjan-roofed house and thick walls. The woodwork over the doorway at the entrance—a fine coat of arms—should be painted and white ant destroying paint should be pumped in to the wood. The walls of the Fort on the south side of the river are in good preservation.....

DONDRA TEMPLE.

6-3-14. Went out to Dondra and up to the temple.

Mahāvamsa: LX. 58; LXXV. 49-50; LXXXV. 85-86; XC. 94.

Mah: LX-58. *Vijaya Bāhu I.* "And he made repairs to the.....Uruwēla Vihāra at Devanāgara."

Mah: LXXV. 49-50: In campaign of *Parākrama Bāhu I* it is called "Devanāgara."

Mah: LXXXV. 85-86: Of *Parākrama Bāhu I*: "And it came to the ears of the lord of the land that at the noble city of Devanāgara, which is like unto a mine of merit, there lay decayed the temple of the lily-coloured god,¹ who is king of the gods. And indeed it was an ancient temple, in that it had been built many years ago. And he went up to that beautiful city, and made the temple of the king of the gods that stood there look as new and bright as the palace of Sakra,² and made it like unto a storehouse abounding with all wealth. And after that, the chief of men made that city to abound with all prosperity, and to be as goodly as the city of the gods (Devanāgara). And he ordained that an Asālhi³ festival should be held every year in that city in honour of the god."

Mah: XC. 94: *Parākrama Bāhu IV.* "Then at Devapura he caused a long two-storied image house to be built with two exquisite doors containing a sleeping image (of Buddha) and caused the surrounding grove and the village Ganthimāna⁴ to be dedicated to Buddha."

Cave. Book of Ceylon. I. p. 177: "In the Portuguese period (16th century) it was the most renowned place of pilgrimage in Ceylon."

1. Vishnu, the second person of the mythological Hindu triad, and now the most celebrated and popular of all the gods of India.

2. An epithet of Indra, King of Heaven and of the Devas.

3. Asālhi—June-July.

4. Pali Ganthimāna; Sinh. Vēlamāna.

Nikāya Sangrahawa, p. 29; *Bhuvaneka Bāhu V*: "Mahā Thēra Maitrēya of Galaturamula."

Nikāya Sangrahawa, p. 24; *Bhuvaneka Bāhu IV*, of Gampola. "A certain minister called Senālakādhikāra Senevirat, born of Mehenavaravansa got a three-storied image house for the standing image (of Buddha) built at Devnuvara."

Pūjāvaliya, p. 47. *Pandita Parākrama Bāhu* hears that the Vishnu temple at Devnuvara was dilapidated, levelled it to the ground, made all repairs and instituted festival in month of Esala.

Muller. *A.I.C.* p. 69 and p. 138, No. 159.

159. Dondra I.—"In the 10th year of His Majesty Siri Sanga Bo Parākramabāhu a coconut tope bought for a *tumba* (?) of gold to the Bhūmi mahā Vihāra and to the image house, and 200 coconut trees to the Lord Déwarāja"

P 140, Dondra II. 163. "In the year 1432 of the auspicious, revered and correct Saka, 11 in the 4th year of the auspicious Lord of Ceylon, the fortunate Siri Sangabo Siri Vijaya Bāhu, born in the family of the Sun, descended, on the 5th day of the dark half of the month Poson, granted to the Nagarisa Nila temple in Dondra 20 amunas sowing extent of the fields in Nāwadunne and Pategama and the produce of Batgama where the Atapattoo Aracci made the dam"

7-3-14. Went to Deniyaya by motor coach (10 A.M. arr. 1 P.M.)

2-30 P.M. started out westward by bicycle to Pallegama (4 m.) and visited the **Meda Vihare**, a new building of no interest.

Went with the Aracchi $\frac{1}{2}$ mile across the Gin Ganga by tree-bridge to

MALWATTÉGODA.

(List of 1887—Malwattē Bogoda or Bogoda). A small hill had been cut into terraces. On the top stand a ruined *dāgaba* of cabook and brick and a few pillars. A flat stone on south serves as a flower altar. On a lower terrace is a stone socket for a wooden pillar.

The place is quite abandoned, some cabook blocks lie near the pillars which are rough with wedge marks. In the ferns near the *dāgaba* was found a large chatty with the anklets of a Kapurāla, 12 hidden here since their presence in the house would be unlucky for his wife during her periods. The *dāgaba* has been broken into from above.

Nothing need be done here. Returned to Deniyaya.

8-3-14. Cycled to Kotapola (6 m. south) and then went east app. 5 m. to

TUMBĒWALA VIHARE.

Here an old cave contains a modern Buddha and *dāgaba* in front, now completely abandoned.

Our guide said that 25 years ago his uncle restored an old Buddha (supposed to date to Duttagāmini's time) and erected a roof and walls to the cave. He also built the *dāgaba*. A field of one acre was given by the Temple Lands Commissioners, but on death of the founder the priest left from lack of support and the place decayed and the land reverted to Government. The Buddha still retains its bright colouring, but the roof of rounded tiles has fallen and the walls are crumbling. The eyes are not painted nor is the couch completely finished. The founder was Korawage Don Andris Appu Kotapola.

I cycled to Morawaka since there was no place to see. Mr. Fernando inspected Gētabaru Vihare ($\frac{1}{2}$ mile from Kotapola). Cf. 1887 List.

(1). That is, in the year 1610 A.D.

(2). Priest of a *Dēvāle* which is the temple of a God, as opposed to a *Vihāre* or temple of Buddha.

GETABARU VIHÁRE

A rock cave. Restored. Rock groove 9 feet above ground level. Recumbent Buddha with Vishnu on the right, and a god with four arms holding lotus in right hand (called the "Western God") on the left.

High Priest Siambalagoda Sumangala Theran Wahanse, 75 years old, 50 years as High Priest here. He is 2nd priest since restoration. The priest's residence is 30 fathoms app. N. W. from Temple. 1m. from main road to Deniyaya. S. W. of Post Office.

Buddha 24 feet long. Vishnu is of mud painted blue and is in the East room. The Western God is for this District what Kattragam is for his district. Getabaruwa is the residence of the "*Basand-ira Deviyo*."

Formerly an elk with a white $\frac{1}{2}$ moon on its forehead was the guardian of the place. It was seen by two hunter brothers, who told their father who went with a party to shoot and discovered this place. Only fragments of a sleeping Buddha were in the cave which was called Getabaru Lena. The Mahandiram A.A. Gunaratne is the Vidane Aracchi of Getabaruwa, 78 years old, in service 59 years.

9-3-14: Returned to Matara from Morawaka.

10-3-14: Despatched all negatives and squeezes to Anuradhapura and sent coolies with tents to Dondra.

11-3-14: Started clearing jungle round Gal-ge, making plan of Dondra Temple and photographing the old remains.

12-3-14: Went on with the work at Dondra.

(To be continued)



Notes & Queries.

WHO WAS WHO IN CEYLON. DURING THE FIRST CENTURY OF BRITISH RULE.

MR J. P. LEWIS, C.M.G., C.C.S. (Retired), is engaged in compiling, and the *Times of Ceylon* Co., Ltd., in due course will publish, a BIOGRAPHICAL RECORD OF ALL PERSONS, of every nationality (whether Soldiers or Civilians), who were in any way prominently connected with Ceylon during the FIRST CENTURY OF BRITISH RULE.

The assistance of all who are interested in the completeness of this record will be much appreciated, and Biographical Notes, Old Documents, Sketches, Maps, Deeds of Appointment, etc., etc., submitted to the Publishers will in all cases be most carefully preserved and returned undamaged as early as is possible: Communications should be addressed to the MANAGER, *Times of Ceylon*, Colombo.

This publication will seek to co-ordinate the information hitherto available only to students, and its purpose is to record for all time matters of interest which will otherwise be lost in obscurity.

A JAFFNA CANNON.

By J. P. LEWIS, C.M.G., C.C.S. (Retired.)

WITH reference to the last inscription upon a cannon at Jaffna which appeared in the *Ceylon Antiquary*, Vol. VI, Part I, I have received from Lieut.-Colonel, J. H. Leslie of Gunners holme, Melbourne Avenue, Sheffield, the historian of the Royal Regiment of Artillery, the following information.—In the Rotunda Artillery Museum at Woolwich, there are four guns made by Kinman. They bear "Francis Kinman, 1794," a brass gun; F. K. Kinman, 1817." And two of the Royal Irish Artillery made by him in 1794 and 1796.

COMBS.

By H. W. CODRINGTON, C.C.S.

MR. A. ALVIS, in Vol. VI, Part II of the *Ceylon Antiquary*, has referred to the tradition that the comb worn in the Low-Country was "introduced into Ceylon about the 18th century by some Malay Prince who was deported from Java."

As far as I am aware there is no mention of the comb in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The following extract from Raffles' *History of Java* (London, 1830), Vol. I, p. 99, tends to confirm the Javanese origin of the ornament:

"Neither men nor women cut their hair, but allow it to grow to its natural length: in this they differ from the *Maláys* and *Búgis*, who always wear it short. The men, except on particular occasions, gather it up on the crown of the head, twist it round, and fasten it by means of a semicircular tortoise-shell comb fixed in front."

OLD BOTANIC GARDENS.

By ARTHUR ALVIS, M.M.C.

I HAVE an idea that Governor Van Angelbecks's country residence, subsequently occupied by General MacDowall, was on the site near the Grandpass Municipal Market, on which stand the house belonging to the Gomes Abeyesinghe family, and the neighbouring buildings. The place was known as Malwatte, and Mr. Abeyesinghe was to my knowledge commonly called and referred to as "Malwatte Ralahami."

I am also inclined to think that D'Jonville's garden was the one attached to, and forming part of, Hill House. These premises originally belonged to A. H. Marshall, at one time Auditor General, known as Iniquity Marshall. They were purchased by Mr. Beling, Registrar of the Supreme Court, and the Crown acquired the same about twenty five years ago from the Beling family. When I first knew this garden in 1868 it was planted with many fruit trees—different kinds of Mangoes, Guavas, Jambus, &c., nutmeg and a variety of other trees.

The title deeds of this property are probably with the Government Agent of the Western Province. If so, they might disclose some information on the point.

A CEYLON CELEBRITY: LT.-COL. A. JOHNSTON.

By J. P. LEWIS, C.M.G., C.C.S. (Retired.)

FOR the following copy of the epitaph on Lieutenant Colonel Arthur Johnston, celebrated in Ceylon for his expedition to Kandy in 1804, and "*Narrative*" of it published in 1810, I am indebted to the courtesy of the Rev. R. B. Miller, Rector of Shalden, near Alton, Hampshire. The inscription is on a tablet in the church of that parish.

"Sacred to the memory of Lieut.-Col. Arthur Johnston, of Clare in the County of Tyrone, Ireland, formerly of the 19th Regiment of Foot, and 2nd Ceylon Battalion, late of His Majesty's Regiment of Royal Corsican Rangers, and Assistant Commander at the Royal Military College at Farnham.

His services in Ceylon (where he signalized himself on many occasions, but particularly in the command of an Expedition to Candy in the year 1804, which place he captured under difficulties the most appalling), laid the foundation of a disease which, after many years of severe suffering, terminated his life on the 6th June, 1824. He was born on the 7th of July, 1776, and married Martha (daughter of Thomas Smith, Esq.) by whom this tribute of affection is erected to his memory."

It may be noted here that the title of the old 19th Foot was on January 1st this year changed from "H. R. H. Princess Alexandra of Wales's Yorkshire Regiment," to "the Green Howards, Princess Alexandra of Wales' (Yorkshire) Regiment." "2nd Ceylon Regiment" was the official designation of Captain Johnston's Ceylon corps.

THE TOWN OF ALUTNUWARA.¹

By R. N. THAINE, C.C.S.

(10th Sept. 1920) : Inspected the "town"—so called I suppose from its size—Alutnuwara *alias* Bintenne, has been described by many European Travellers dating from 1600 as "one of the most interesting places in Ceylon." It is said to be older than Anurādhapura. Buddha visited it and founded the famous Dagoba. The kings of Ceylon paid frequent visits. Knox looked down at it with wonder from Dumbara.

"There the Emperors of Ceylon held Court: There were fine streets, handsome buildings and noble pagodas painted white and brightly gilt. There was a large palace. Ships were made here. . . . and the city extended for a mile on either side of the river. It was one of the handsomest cities of the whole Island where everything that one can think of is to be found."

But the modern traveller would leave Alutnuwara with a very different impression, assuming that he ever wandered as far. The dagoba is a massive work and should be a fine monument when it is restored. At present it consists of the usual brick-work and will, I think, take years to complete. As for the town, it is the most unkempt, squalid and stinking place I have seen in the Province. It is littered with rubbish, cattle-dung and broken bricks. The once famous roads are sand tracks, the dwellings are of the poorest description.

It is obvious that no serious attempt is ever made to keep the place clean, and yet, at certain seasons of the year, thousands of pilgrims visit this famous shrine. It would take an army of scavengers to keep it clean, and, as for conservancy, considering the number of pilgrims visiting this locality, it is a marvel that there has never occurred any serious outbreak of epidemic disease. I suppose the dryness of the climate and the sandy soil have contributed to its freedom from epidemics.

The one redeeming feature of this locality is the marvellous views of the Uva and Kandy mountains, especially from the banks of the Mahaweliganga which, at this spot, is a fine piece of water. But the views do not help one to bear the blazing heat and the clouds of eye-flies and dust, and Alutnuwara, though worth a visit for a few hours, is not a place to live in.

ITS SANITATION AND INACCESSIBILITY :—Alutnuwara is a locality which should undoubtedly be brought under the Sanitary Town Ordinance, though I would hesitate to adopt this step until it is made more accessible. Sanitary towns must receive constant supervision if any real progress is to be made. It would be impossible to supervise this town, so long as it is without a good road leading to it. To leave this work entirely to headmen is almost equivalent to doing nothing at all. Considering the religious importance of the locality and its nearness to the magnificent Sorabora Tank where, given a population or Colony, prospects of food production will increase, I consider it essential to make it accessible by means of a good road. The cart road from Bibile goes within 12 miles from the town and I hope, after an inspection of the track, to persuade Government that, in the interests of sanitation and food production, the extension of the road is a work of real urgency.

Alutnuwara was at one time a small Military Station. All that appears to remain of its military occupation are three cannon, of which two are used as gate posts and the other as a fence stick! It is said that there are other cannon in the town but buried in sand and their locality is uncertain. I think these cannon might be mounted at the resthouse, which is said to be the site of the Emperor's palace.

1. Being an extract from the Diary of the Government Agent, Province of Uva, for the month of September, 1920.

MR. ALEXANDER OSWALD BRODIE.

By D. P. E. HETTIARATCHI.

IN a note appearing in the *Ceylon Antiquary*, Vol. VI. Part 1, p. 52, Mr. J.P. Lewis, C.M.G., C.C.S. (Retired) calls for "any particulars" about the late Mr. A. O. Brodie, who, as Assistant Government Agent first of Nuwarakalawiya and again of Malale, was known to have been a very popular, learned and independent member of the Ceylon Civil Service.

The following account of his record appears in the *Ceylon Civil List* for 1864, the year in which he retired from the Service :—

"Mr. Brodie was appointed Assistant Civil Engineer and Commissioner of Roads at Puttalam, May 3rd, 1845; Acting Police Magistrate and Commissioner of Requests, Calpenty (provisionally), Jan. 30th, 1847; Stipendiary Justice of the Peace for the suppression of cattle stealing in the Eastern, Northern, and North-Western Provinces, Oct. 16th, 1848, which appointment he held till selected to act as Assistant Government Agent, etc.: at Nuwarakalawiya in Jan. 1850, on a salary of £550 which he continued to hold when formally appointed to the Civil Service in Sept. 1851; Commissioner of Requests and Police Magistrate at Point Pedro, Dec. 9, 1852; Acting District Judge, Kurunegala, Dec. 9, 1852; Acting Assistant Government Agent at Kurunegala (provisionally), Jan. 24th, 1853; Acting Commissioner of Requests and Police Magistrate at Madawalatenne, Feb. 4, 1853; Acting Assistant Government Agent at Kandy, March 3rd, 1853. Proceeded to England on leave of absence, Aug. 16th, 1853. Resigned the service Aug. 24th, 1855. Specially re-appointed to the service in a position analogous to that which he occupied previous to his resignation, July 11, 1857; Additional District Judge, Matara, Dec. 1, 1857; Acting Assistant Agent etc., Malale, May 1st, 1858. Appointment confirmed, May 1, 1860. Proceeded to England on leave of absence, Feb. 16th, 1864. Retired 28th Dec. 1864 on a pension of £220."

The late Mr. Brodie may be called a "Regenerator" of Nuwarakalawiya. According to Mr. R. W. Ievers' *Manual of the North-Central Province*, it was Mr. Brodie who started the first school at Anuradhapura in 1850. "Mr. Brodie did much to induce the people to grow fruit trees, and with Mr. Dyke's assistance and that of Mr. (now Sir) Twynham, his assistant, various timber trees, ornamental and useful, were introduced. Mr. Brodie himself gave a money prize to the men in each division who should have the best show of young Jak trees..... Mr. Brodie pressed upon Government the necessity of tank restoration as the only means of improving the condition of the people."

Mr. Brodie's contributions to the *Journal* of the Ceylon Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society include :—

1. The manufacture of Salt by Solar Evaporation. (Vol. I. No. 3, p. 99).
2. Notes on the climate and salubrity of Puttalam (Vol. I. No. 3, p. 163).
3. Statistical Account of the Districts of Chilaw and Puttalam (Vol. II. No. 6, p. 26).
4. Rock Inscription at Gurugoda Vihara, in the Magni Korale, Seven Korales (Vol. II. No. 6, p. 51).
5. Two Rock Inscriptions (Vol. II. No. 7, p. 81).
6. Notice on some Rock Inscriptions in the North-Western Province (Vol. II. No. 8, p. 181).
7. Topographical and Statistical Account of the District of Nuwarakalawiya (Vol. III. No. 9, p. 150).

A very interesting letter dated "Puttalam, 18th October, 1849" from Mr. Brodie to the Colonial Secretary conveying the results of his personal observations respecting the nature and

causes of the Rebellion of 1848, appears in the Appendix to the Third Report of the Select Committee of the House of Commons on Ceylon, 1851. (*Vide* p. 196).

There is in the Colombo Museum Library a Manuscript Book by Mr. Brodie, which, according to the label affixed, has been purchased from Messrs Maggs Bros. of 109, Strand, London, W.C. The book seems to be a continuation of a similar volume as the pagination runs from 353 to 632. It is profusely illustrated with pencil and ink sketches. Some of its contents are :—

Notes on Nuwarakalawiya, Coconut, Paddy, Cotton and Sesame cultivation; woods of Ceylon; Palmyra Toddy; Stories and fables as written by the school boys at Calpentyne; Medical Notions of the Sinhalese; Dyeing as practised at Calpentyne; Names of Sinhalese Demons; Ruins near Pomparippoo, etc., etc., etc.

Several pages of this MS Book are also devoted to a careful description of the Sinhalese and Indian coins with drawings. It may here be worthy of notice that in describing a "Purana" (cf. Parker's *Ancient Ceylon* p. 474), Mr. Brodie has the following note added :—

"The natives do not know what these are, but Simon Casie Chetty tells me that they are amulets and being buried with sundry ceremonies were supposed to ensure the gradual wasting away and ultimate death of the person shadowed forth by the standing figure."

Mr. Brodie's death is chronicled in the *Ceylon Observer* of December 10th, 1874, as follows :—

"Mr. A. O. Brodie died on 6th November at 5, Roseberry Crescent, Edinburgh; only surviving son of the late Brigadier General Brodie, C. B., of the Madras, N. I. aged 53."

(*Times of Ceylon* of December 8th, 1874, says he died on the 5th of November in the 58th year of his age.)

The following paragraph appearing in the *Ceylon Observer* of December 7th, 1874, throws more light on the subject :—

"Some at least in Ceylon will share our recollections of Messrs. Emerson and Oswald Brodie, whose deaths are recorded in the papers received by this mail. Mr. Emerson was nephew to Sir Emerson Tennent and engaged extensively in coffee planting. . . . Mr. Emerson was a gentleman of very considerable talent and energy, whose life was guided by religious principle. The same may be said of Mr. A. Oswald Brodie, a biblical work from whose pen we reviewed sometime ago. Mr. Brodie's connection with the Ceylon Civil Service was singular. In view of favourable prospects offered by an uncle in America, he resigned the Service. His expectations not having been realized he was able, largely, we believe, through the influence of his friend Mr. John Bailey with Sir Henry Ward, to obtain re-admittance to the service. He will be remembered by some of the older planters and others as the popular Assistant Agent of Matale and commander of a very promising body of volunteers before the volunteer movement in our Island finally collapsed."

Lastly, it may be added that in the *Autobiography* of Sir William Gregory, Governor of Ceylon, mention is made of a Benjamin Brodie, son of Sir Benjamin Brodie, afterwards Regius Professor of Chemistry at Oxford, as Sir William's school fellow and friend (*vide* p. 30). It will be interesting to find out whether the late Mr. A. O. Brodie was a kinsman of this distinguished man of science.

BOOKS ON CEYLON.

The EDITOR,

Ceylon Antiquary and Literary Register.

Sir,

WILL you be good enough to publish the attached list of books dealing with Ceylon with a request that any other books dealing with this subject which may have been omitted from my list, may be notified by your readers.

Yours, etc.,

"BIBLIO."

[NOTE BY ED., C. A.—We publish the List with pleasure and trust that our readers will supply the omissions.]

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Literary Register.

THE KANDYAN PENSIONERS, OR THE LAST SCIONS OF SINHALESE ROYALTY.

HISTORY OF THE PENSIONS.

Causes of Their Origin.

(Continued from Vol. VI, Pt. II, Page 111.)

No. 3. TREATY OF PEACE

ARTICLES of Convention entered into between His Highness Prince Moottoosawmy and His Excellency Frederick North, Governor, Captain-General, and Commander-in-Chief in and over the British Settlements on the Island of Ceylon, on the other part, for the attainment of the just objects of the present war, the speedy restoration of peace, and the general security and happiness of the inhabitants of this Island.

Article 1st.—The British Government in Ceylon agrees to deliver over to Prince Moottoosawmy the town of Candy and all the possessions dependent on the Crown of Candy, now occupied by the British arms, excepting the Province of the Seven Corles, the two hills—forts of Giritagame and Gallegedereh—and a line of land not exceeding in breadth the half of a Cingalese Camanchy across the Candian territories, for the purpose of making of a direct road from Colombo to Trincomalee, which road shall not pass through the district known by the name of the Gravets of the town of Candy, which aforesaid Province, Forts, and line of land, Prince Moottoosawmy hereby solemnly agrees to cede in full to the sovereignty of His Britannic Majesty for ever.

2nd.—Prince Moottoosawmy further engages that he will consider the enemies of His Britannic Majesty's Imperial Crown as his own enemies, and that he will not, directly or indirectly, enter into any treaty or negotiation with any Prince or State without the consent of His said Britannic Majesty, or of the Governor of his settlements on Ceylon for the time being.

3rd.—As Prince Moottoosawmy is undoubted heir to the last lawful King of Candy, the British Government will recognize him as King of Candy as soon as he shall have taken on himself that title with the usual solemnities, and ratified the present Convention; and in case the said Prince should require an auxiliary force to maintain his authority, the British Government shall afford him troops, the expense of such troops during their employment in the service of the said Prince being to be defrayed by him, at a rate to be agreed upon.

4th.—It is mutually agreed, that duties on the common frontier shall be abolished, and none established except by mutual consent.

5th.—It is agreed by Prince Moottoosawmy that all Malays now resident in the Candian territories shall be sent with their families into the British territories, as shall likewise all Europeans and Portuguese who may not obtain a license from the Government of the British possession to reside in the said Candian territories; and all Europeans and Portuguese who may commit crimes within the Candian territories, shall be sent to the British territories for trial.

6th.—It is mutually agreed, that all natives of Ceylon or of India, except such Portuguese as are mentioned in the last Article, shall be subject to the laws and tribunals of the country where the offence may have been committed.

7th.—Prince Moottoosawmy promises and agrees that he will protect to the utmost of his power the monopoly of cinnamon engaged by the British Government, that he will allow cinnamon peelers belonging to the said British Government to gather cinnamon in his territories to west of the Balany Candy, and that he will furnish as much cinnamon as may be required, at the price of Forty rix-dollars per bale of Eighty pounds.

8th.—Prince Moottoosawmy engages to permit persons duly authorized by the British Government, to cut wood in all his forests.

9th.—Prince Moottoosawmy engages not to prohibit, either directly or indirectly, the importation of paddy grain and arekanut from his territories, without consent of the British Government.

10th.—Prince Moottoosawmy furthermore engages to give a safe conduct to the Prince lately on the throne, to receive into the British territories with his family, and to allow him a certain sum for his maintenance, which shall be agreed upon hereafter by the parties to these Articles, provided it be not less than Five hundred rix-dollars per mensem during the term of his natural life.

11th.—And for the better establishment of public tranquillity, Prince Moottoosawmy engages to allow such persons as have rendered themselves obnoxious to him, by opposing his just claims, to retire with their wives and families, money, jewels, and moveable property into the British territories on Ceylon, there to remain unmolested.

12th.—It is moreover stipulated that every encouragement shall be given by such party to the subjects of the other in prosecuting fair and lawful commerce.

13th.—The subjects of His Britannic Majesty duly authorized by the British Government on Ceylon, shall have liberty to travel with their merchandize throughout the Candian territories, to build houses, and purchase and sell their goods without let or hinderance.

14th.—The subjects of the Crown of Candy shall, on the other hand, be allowed to settle and carry on trade in the British settlements on Ceylon, and to purchase and send into Candy all merchandize, salt, salt-fish, &c., on the same terms with the native subjects of His Britannic Majesty.

15th.—The British Government shall be allowed to examine the rivers and water-courses in the Candian territories, and shall be assisted by the Candian Government in rendering them navigable for the purpose of trade and the mutual advantages of both countries.

16th.—For the more perfect maintenance of these Articles, and of good understanding and amity between the contracting parties, Prince Moottoosawmy consents and agrees that a minister on the part of the British Government shall be permitted, whenever it may be required, to reside at the Court of Candy, and be received and protected with the honors due to his public rank and character.

17th.—These Articles being agreed upon between Prince Moottoosawmy and the Governor of British settlement on Ceylon, shall be immediately translated to His Majesty for his Royal confirmation, and shall in the meantime be acted upon with good faith by both the contracting parties, according to the true intent and meaning.

A Convention having been entered into between the British Government of Ceylon and his Majesty King Moottoosawmy, through illustrious Lord Palama [Pilima] Talawa, First Adegaar of the Court of Candy, the Second Adegaar and the other Nobles of the Court agree to and become parties in the same, on condition that His Majesty King Moottoosawmy deliver over the administration of the Provinces belonging to the Crown of Candy to the aforesaid Palama Talawa, with the title Ootoonkoomaroyen, or Grand Prince, during the term of his natural life, and continue to reside and hold his Court at Jaffnapatam, or in such other part of the British territories on Ceylon as may be agreed on between His said Majesty and the British Government.

And for the proper maintenance of his Royal dignity, the aforesaid Palama Talawa engages to pay annually to His said Majesty the sum of Thirty thousand rix-dollars in British currency, and to fulfil all the engagements entered into by His Majesty with the British Government.

And for the better security of the payment of the sums stipulated to be paid to the King Moottoosawmy, as well as to the King lately on the throne of Candy, the said Palama Talawa agrees to deliver to the British Government at Colombo in the course of every year the amount of twenty thousand ammanoms [amunams] of good areckanut, each ammanom containing Two thousand nuts, at the rate of Six rix-dollars in British currency per ammanom, to be paid to the Agents of the said Palama Talawa by the said British Government in coined copper to that amount, or in such other articles as may be agreed on between the parties.

And the British Government will in that case charge itself with the payment of the allowance stipulated for both those Princes.

And the Adegaar Palama Talawa agrees to cede in perpetuity to the British Government the village and district Goorivile or Eleriele, now called Fort Ellaiddoowall, in exchange for the Hill Fort of Giriagame, which the British Government cedes again to Palama Talawa.

And it is still further agreed upon, that all the Princes and Princesses of the Royal family now in confinement shall be immediately set at liberty, and allowed to settle with their personal property wherever they choose, and that a general amnesty and pardon shall be observed on both sides, as well towards those who have opposed, as towards those who have supported the claims of King Moottoosawmy in the late or former contest.

And it is hereby agreed by His Majesty King Moottoosawmy on his part, by His Excellency Frederick North, Governor of the British on Ceylon, on the part of his Government, and by the most illustrious Lord Palama Talawa, First Adegaar, on his part and on that of the Second Adegaar and principal Nobles of the Court, that the Articles above agreed upon shall be carried into effect fully and completely, as soon as the Prince lately on the throne of Candy shall be delivered into the hands of the British Government, and that till then a perfect truce and cessation of hostilities shall continue between all the contracting parties.

And the said contracting parties have in faith thereof set to the said Articles their seals, and signed them with their names respectively.

(Signed) FREDERICK NORTH,
PALAMA TALAWA [in Cingalese].

No. 4.

PROPOSALS OF COLLECTOR OF TANJORE FOR COMMUTATION OF PENSIONS.

Political Department.

No. 374.

To the Hon'ble the COLONIAL SECRETARY, Colombo.

SIR,

I AM directed by His Excellency the Governor in Council, with reference to paragraphs 6 and 7 of your letter, dated the 29th December last, No. 77, to submit, for the information of His Excellency the Governor of Ceylon, the enclosed copy of a letter received from the Government Agent at Tanjore.

29th October, 1870, No. 103.

2. In this letter, Mr. Morris expresses his opinion that the majority of the Kandian pensioners of the third lives will be willing to commute their pensions for a capital sum, provided the terms are sufficiently liberal to enable them to purchase land or engage in some sort of business. Mr. Morris has given, as some guide in framing the rates of commutation, the scale which was sanctioned by Government in the case of the life pensioners of the Tanjore Raj, but he unhesitatingly affirms that these rates would prove unduly unfavourable in the case of the few third-life Kandian pensioners. As regards the remaining Kandian pensioners of the first or second life, Mr. Morris recommends the adoption of the system of commutation, but on more favourable rates than those of the third life. He suggests that the rates should be double or treble the rates fixed for the third life, according as the pensioners are of the second or first life.

3. The Government have deferred making any definite proposals to the Kandian pensioners of any of these classes, as they consider it desirable that they should previously be in possession of the view taken by the Ceylon Government of the proposal made by the Government Agent at Tanjore.

4. I am at the same time to state, that His Excellency in Council is of opinion that Mr. Morris' suggestions regarding the rates of commutation are moderate, and deserving of adoption by the Government of Ceylon.

5. While His Excellency in Council would regard with much satisfaction a measure which, if accepted, may, in some degree, afford the means of rescuing the Kandian pensioners from their present unfortunate condition, he is, for the reasons stated in his Minute, recorded in the Proceedings of this Government, dated 14th July, 1869, strongly of opinion that all the Kandian pensioners who may express a wish to return to their native country should be permitted to do so, and that a free passage should be given them.

6. His Excellency also considers that it is very desirable that the Government of Ceylon should send to this country an Officer invested with full authority to deal with the question of the commutation of the allowances of the Kandian pensioners, and able to advise them according to the circumstances of each case, and with a full knowledge of Ceylon, whether it will be for their benefit to return to their native country. This is a duty which, His Excellency thinks, can more appropriately and more successfully be performed by an Officer of the Government of Ceylon, to whom these pensioners should look for protection and relief, than by an Officer of the Madras Government.

I have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your most obedient Servant,

(Signed)

R. F. ELLIS,

Chief Secretary.

Fort Saint George,

23rd November, 1870.

From G. L. MORRIS, Esq., Government Agent, Tanjore, to the CHIEF SECRETARY to Government, Fort Saint George, dated Vallam, 29th October, 1870, No. 103.

With reference to G.O., dated 24th January, 1870, No. 30, I have the honour to report on paragraphs 6 and 8 of the letter from the Honourable the Colonial Secretary, Colombo.

2. The majority of the Kandians, whose pensions have reached the third life, are willing to commute their pensions for a capital sum, provided the terms are sufficiently liberal to enable them to purchase land, or engage in some sort of business.

3. In the absence of the scale on which the capital sum is to be calculated, these Kandians are backward to commit themselves to a decided answer. I would, therefore, recommend that the rate of commutation be first fixed, and then an offer made to each Kandian to have his pension commuted, and I have no doubt but that it will gladly be accepted without exception.

4. The question, therefore, is what is the rate at which these pensions can be commuted with advantage. In the case of life pensioners of the Tanjore Raj, the following rates of commutation, according to their age, were sanctioned by Government, and is at present in force:—

| Age of Pensioners | Number of years' purchase. |
|-------------------|----------------------------|
| Under 10 years | 13 |
| " 10 to 20 years | 12½ |
| " 20 to 25 " | 12 |
| " 25 to 30 " | 11½ |
| " 30 to 35 " | 11 |
| " 35 to 40 " | 10½ |
| " 40 to 45 " | 10 |
| " 45 to 50 " | 9½ |
| " 50 to 55 " | 9 |
| " 55 to 60 " | 8 |
| " 60 to 65 " | 7 |
| " 65 to 70 " | 6 |
| Above 70 " | 5 |

5. There are eight Kandian pensioners of the third life, as noted in the margin, whose stipend will be found to vary from Rupees 58-5-4 to Rupees 2-8-0 per mensem. I have not been able to obtain full information from these persons as to their age, &c., in order that the capital sum may be calculated at the foregoing rates; but I have no hesitation in stating that, if these rates are to be applied to their cases, the result will not be very favourable to them. I would, therefore, recommend that the rates to be allowed to these men may be somewhat more liberal.

| | Rs. | s. | d. |
|------------------------|-----|----|----|
| Venkataramaswami Rajah | 58 | 5 | 4 |
| Velayudhadevi | 44 | 8 | 6 |
| Pudumabawami | 3 | 8 | 0 |
| Perumal Nair | 2 | 8 | 0 |
| Rongaru Annai | 9 | 0 | 0 |
| Thorasami Nair | 3 | 0 | 0 |
| Venkataramaswami Nair | 3 | 0 | 0 |
| Palanisami Nair | 2 | 0 | 0 |

6. With reference to paragraph 8 of the Colonial Secretary's letter above quoted, the condition of the pensioners of the third generation having thus been disposed of, I have to make my suggestions regarding the remaining Kandians. I can conceive no better plan than allowing them also to have their pensions commuted, which alone is likely to avert the contingency of their falling into a condition of hopeless poverty. These pensioners are of either the first or second life, and they should, in my opinion, be allowed the option of having their pensions commuted also, but on more favourable rates than those of the third life. I would suggest that these rates should be double or treble the rates fixed for the third life, according as the pensioners

are of the second or first life, I may add that most of the pensioners are of the second life; there being no less than forty-one individuals of this class, whilst of the first life there are only eight.

No. 5.

To the Civil Auditor, Ceylon, on Service at this Presidency to enquire into the circumstances of the Kandyan Pensioners at Tanjore.

(Sic in Original.)

The Humble Memorial of the Third Consort of His late Highness Wickrama Simmala Mayaraja, Ex-King of Kandy, Ceylon,

Most respectfully sheweth,

That, relying on the well-known generosity of the British Government, and the special regard shewn by them to the various royal families in India, your memorialist respectfully begs to bring under their consideration her present distressed, embarrassed circumstances, which will not be found in the history of any of the other royal families of the countries. Accustomed to be provided with all her wants, and living entirely under the protection and support of the Government, she has lived unconcerned regarding the future, and had been either ignorant of, or indifferent to, all the various measures adopted by Government regarding her allowances, and it is not till the recent death of her son-in-law, who has hitherto managed her affairs, and the refusal of Government to grant her the usual allowance for the marriage of her granddaughter, and other similar indulgences, that her eye have been opened to the distress and poverty which living upon her and her family—harrassed by the constant demands of her creditors to whom she owes a debt of Rs. 8,000, mostly contracted during the lifetime of her late son, some eighteen years back,—and of provided with a very small pension of Rs. 120, which can just pay the interest upon her debt, but out of which she has to maintain herself and her family in the present days of high prices, to provide for all her wants, and to bring up her heir and adopted son, Allagiamanawalla Simmala Rajah, who is also lineal grandson of the late ex-king, in a manner suited to his position and stolid life, the hardship of her position will, she fully trusts, be readily conceived by every English mother and father.

She can attribute her miserable condition, and the small consideration shewn to her in comparison with other royal families in India, only to the unfortunate fact, that while she lives under the immediate protection of one authority, all her allowances have to be sanctioned by a distant Government, unacquainted with, and consequently not capable of sympathising, with her circumstances, so that, either the recommendations of local authorities in her favour were not complied with, or they were not frequently induced to treat her family in an illiberal manner, with the sole object of satisfying the economical demands of the Ceylon Government. When the late ex-king was brought down to Vellore as a State prisoner, besides allowing him liberal rations, all his wants in regard to dresses, jewels, festivities, and charities, were supplied in a manner suited to his rank and station in life. After his death the same indulgences continued towards your petitioner and her late son, Rajadeeraja Simula Maga Raja. In 1831, it being resolved to substitute fixed money allowances in lieu of the system of supplying provisions in kind, the then Officer Commanding Vellore acted rather by a desire to shew a great saving to the Ceylon Government than by a just consideration to the wants and comforts of your memorialist; proposed very low scale of allowances, so much as even to take the Ceylon Government by

surprise, and ultimately the allowances in question were fixed at 270 Rs. to your memorialist and her late son, and 230 Rs. to the 4th queen and her three daughters, in the place of 1,041½ Rs., which was the charge previously incurred on their account, besides an annual clothes' money and other allowances. Your memorialist, inconvenienced by this arrangement, which was not known to her until it was finally carried out, brought to the notice of the Brigadier the very low scale of allowances fixed as above, and she was informed that the matter would be only considered on her son attaining his majority. Encouraged by this hope, and being under the necessity of maintaining the family, and bring up her son in a respectable manner, and having also had to maintain some of her relations who were not in the enjoyment of pensions, your memorialist was compelled to borrow a sum of 2,000 Rs., and subsequently, when her had to be married another loan of 4,000 Rs. made by Government, being inadequate for such a grand occasion.

The above debt, with its accumulating interest, has ever since remained undischarged, the monthly subsistence allowance given to your memorialist being insufficient to meet such extra demands. Your memorialist having been so unfortunate as to lose her only son, all prospects of an improvement in her own allowance of Rs. 80 per mensem. The pension of Rs. 190 conferred on her son discontinued a portion of it above, viz., Rs. 100, being conferred upon his two widows, one of whom having also since demised, her share of the pension, or Rs. 50, have been received by Government, then your memorialist, bringing the state of her indebtedness to the notice of Brigadier in charge, the same was submitted for the consideration of the Ceylon Government, who were pleased to raise her allowance to the sum of Rs. 120 per mensem. This, however, being far from affording her any material relief, she was again induced to urge her case, and that Brigadier Commanding Vellore recommended that her allowance may be raised to Rs. 300. The recommendation however was not complied with; meanwhile your memorialist applied for permission to adopt a daughter's son of the ex-king, which was accorded to her; but she regrets that the boy was adopted to inherit her debts and poverty, and add greatly to her cares and anxieties in the way of bringing him up in the manner suited to the dignity of the family.

The foregoing is a brief candid account of your memorialist's past and present circumstances, and she seems to the generosity of the Government, to determine whether, in the event of her being thrown upon her own resources for supplying of all her wants, conveniences, and comforts of life, it is not desirable for doing so to relieve her of all her embarrassments, to make a new start in life, and proceeded with such a liberal allowance suited to the dignity of herself and her adopted son, as will place her beyond the necessity of constantly importuning the Government upon every occasion. Your memorialist seeks for no unnecessary state or pomp; she only asks for the means of living a quite and decent life during her few remaining years—she being already sixty years old—and of bringing of her adopted son and heir in respectable manner. To this end she prays, *first*, that her debt of Rs. 6,000 may be enquired into and paid off. The debt in question, as already observed, was incurred for necessary expenses during the lifetime of her late son, when your memorialist's family was in the receipt of much larger allowances, and had the prospect of ever being created with greater consideration, but when her subsequent limited means rendered her incapable of discharging. The saving of the pension of your memorialist's son during the last seventeen years will, she trusts, amply comply the funds to meet the above liberalities which were incurred on his account, and which were proved during the inquiries made by the Brigadiers Logan and White, at the time when they recommended an increase to your memorialist's allowance.

That the pension of Rs. 270 per mensem originally fixed upon herself and her son, moderate as it is when compared with her previous allowances, may be renewed, and continued to her and her adopted son.

That, unlike case of ordinary relations of the ex-king, the pension assigned to your memorialist may be continued to her and her descendants without reduction on the occurrence of lapses, so as to meet the wants a growing familys. In making the above prayers, your memorialist will only observe that the very large reductions made in the allowances of the Kandyan family, and the subsequent savings by lapses of pension, will admit of any additional consideration which may be shewn by Government to improve the position of your memorialist.

What consideration your memorialist is deserving off, she is quite content to leave it to the wisdom and generosity of the Government, and estimates of what the position of a royal family like that of your memorialist should be in the social scale, with reference to the indulgences and concessions made to royal families similarly placed under the protection of Government elsewhere in the country; and her only earnest hope is, that the relief sought may be granted to her in time, to be a solace to her in her old age, and before she terminates the remaining days of her life amidst the anxieties and embarrassments of her present position.

Further, your memorialist begs most respectfully to state, that the allowance granted to Commarasamy and Cannoosamy Naidoo, sons of the late eldest brother, Nuketasamy Naidoo Ruketa Pudmanasamy, the younger brother of Kistnasamy Naidoo, being too small, your memorialist trusts their pension may be raised to a proper scale, as they are encumbered with a large family.

In conclusion, your memorialist begs to add, that she has not a proper dwelling place for her rest, as the present one in which she remains is not decent,—your honor is aware of the same, having personally inspected the place,—your memorialist need say no further, as much as your memorialist begs that you would be graciously pleased to recommend this her request to the kind and favourable notice of Government, for allowing her the sum of Rs. 3,500 for the erection of a decent house; and should this request cannot be complied with, your memorialist solicits that she may be allowed to be in Vellore as Marnool, viz., with the establishment of Sibendies, &c., &c. Your memorialist thinks that your honor's arrival in the Tanjore district will be to your memorialist's good time; therefore, your memorialist trusts that her supplications will receive your kind and favourable consideration.

Your memorialist begs to forward herewith two Proceedings for your honor's kind perusal, of Mr. W. T. Blair and R. W. Barlow. Your memorialist trusts that the above papers will also receive due consideration.

For which act of kindness,

Tanjore,

Your memorialist, as in duty bound, shall ever pray.

7th March, 1871.

(Signed in Telegu.)

Political Department.

No. 322.

Extract from the Minutes of Consultation, dated 30th September, 1856.

Read the following letter from the Colonial Secretary, Colombo.

No. 47.

To the Chief Secretary to Government, Fort St. George.

SIR,

Having laid before the Governor and the Executive Council your letter No. 238 of the 11th ultimo, transmitting copy of one from the Brigadier Commanding Vellore, together with an original petition from the 3rd ex-queen of Kandy, requesting permission to adopt the son of the fourth daughter of the late ex-king, I am directed to acquaint you, for the information of the Right Honourable the Governor in Council, that, under the circumstances therein stated, His Excellency and the Council have been pleased to authorize the proposed adoption.

I have, &c.,

(Signed) P. W. BRAYBROOKE,

Acting Colonial Secretary, Colombo.

Colonial Secretary's Office,
Colombo, 20th September, 1856.

Ordered to be communicated to the Brigadier Commanding Vellore, with reference to the application of the 3rd ex-queen of Kandy, submitted with his letter of the 24th July last, No. 117.

(True extract and copy).

(Signed)

T. PYCROFT,

Chief Secretary

To the Brigadier Commanding Vellore.

(A true copy.)

(Signed)

R. W. BARLOW,

Acting Sub-Collector, N. A.,

in charge of Stipend Pay Office.

Stipend Pay Office,
Vellore, 20th November, 1862.

No. 167 of 1862.

To A. J. Arbuthnot, Esquire, Chief Secretary to Government, Fort St. George.

SIR,

Para. 1. I have the honor to enclose a memorial addressed to me by the 3rd ex-queen of Kandy, praying, 1st, that her debt, amounting to about Rupees 6,000, which she alleges to have been incurred for necessary expenses during the lifetime of her late son, may be inquired in to and paid off; secondly, that the pension of Rupees 270 per mensem originally granted to herself and her son, may be renewed, and continued to her and her adopted son; and, thirdly, that the same may be continued to her and her descendants without deduction on the occurrence of lapses.

2. With regard to memorialist's first request, I have to observe that her allowance was on the 30th July, 1858, raised from Rupees 80 to Rupees 120, with the express object of enabling her to liquidate her debts, which at that time, as reported in Brigadier Logan's letter to the Chief Secretary to Government, dated 22nd June, 1858, No. 112, amounted to between 3,000 or 4,000 Rupees.

So far, however, from devoting her increased allowance to the purpose for which it was granted, it appears that the memorialist has increased her debts by about Rupees 2,000.

Extract from the Minutes
of Consultation, dated 12th
August, 1858, No. 511.

3. With regard to memorialist's second request, that the pension of Rupees 270 a month originally fixed upon herself and her son, may be renewed, and continued to her and her son, I beg to state that Brigadier White, in his letter to the Chief Secretary to Government, dated 10th June, 1859, recommended that her pension of Rupees 120 should be raised to Rupees 300 a month, but that the Government of Ceylon, under date the 14th July, 1859, refused to entertain the application, *vide* Proceedings of the Madras Government, dated 29th July, 1859, No. 452.

4. With regard to memorialist's last request, that the increased allowance for which she applies, may, if granted, be continued to her and her descendants without reduction on the occurrence of lapses, I have only to remark, that there does not appear to be any probability of the memorialist's obtaining the increase of pension, which forms the subject of her second request, and that it is contrary to usage to grant pensions on the terms she solicits.

I have the honor to be, &c.,

(Signed)

W. J. BLAIR,

Sub-Collector of N. Arcot,

in charge of Stipend Pay Office

Political Department.

Proceedings of the Madras Government, No. 74.—Read the following letter from the Colonial Secretary, Colombo.

To the Honorable JOHN DOUGLAS, &c., &c., &c.

Camp, Tanjore.

SIR,

I have the honor to inform you that that the allowance of Rs. 125 granted to my maintenance is quite inadequate to meet the demands and the necessary wants of a queen as myself, and I am therefore obliged to incur debt, and unable to liquidate the same with the above allowances. I am sorry why Government have not taken my case into consideration, to grant me such an ample allowance as to meet my wants since my removal in 1863 from Vellore to Tanjore. I have no house of my own to live in. Moreover, the Government Order regarding the grant of allowances only to three generations, I request not to be applicable to those of the Royal family, as the British Government have once firmly promised, when Kandy has been taken possession of by them, that they will protect the royal family of Kandy until their reigning power in India, which they must not fail to do so.

2nd. As the circumstances concerning my welfare, as well as those closely and consanguinely connected with my family, are not well brought to your notice when you were here on the 6th instant, in continuation of my application dated the 7th instant, I beg to enclose herewith a genealogical table, shewing the individuals that are closely connected, as per names below, and I request you will bring their claims to the favourable notice of Government for an increase of allowances. My adopted son marked A. in the table, Alagiamanavaia Simala Rajah should be treated as a Prince. His three sisters should be entered in the second class of the revised list, and their allowances also should be increased. My nephew, Vencutaputhmanabasawmy, should be entered in the second class of the revised list, and his allowance also must be increased.

My nephews, Comorasawmy Naidoo and Cundasamy Naidoo, their allowances must be increased.

3rd. In conclusion, I request my daughter-in-law, Savethry Davy, in contrary to my will and consent, has a long desire to adopt her brother's son, through the persuasion of her parents, is quite objectionable, as I have an adopted son, Alagiasimala Rajah, who is the sole heir for both.

I have the honor to be,

Sir,

Your most obedient Servant,

[Signed in Telegu.]

Tanjore

17th March, 1871.

TO HIS EXCELLENCY THE GOVERNOR in Council, Fort St. George.

The Humble Petition of the Third Queen of Streevekruma Simmala Maha Rajah, the late ex-King of Kandy, residing at Tanjore,

Most respectfully sheweth,

That, with due respect, I, Your Excellency's petitioner, beg leave to state, that after the Ceylon Government took possession of our aforesaid Province of Kandy, as well as all of our properties, they having placed me together with my husband, the said king, his mother, his other queens, 1st, 2nd, and 4th spouses, and his close relatives, in Columbo, maintained us for the space of one year as it is stated in the enclosed.

2. In 1816 the said Government committed every one of us to the care of this Government, promising to support us and our descendants, as long as the British color endureth in India, with everything needful, from generation to generation. The Government having established us in the Fort of Vellore, maintained us, our son, daughters, &c., supplying us daily with everything required for us, by the Resident of that place: besides this, in our joyful and mournful occasions a separate allowance had been granted to every one of us.

3. After the demise of our said king, such a pecuniary aid had been done to us by Government for a certain time. When the daily allowance was made by Government as a monthly stipend to us, were then overwhelmed into the depth of sorrow on account of king's death, as there was no such an able man as to plead for us with the Government about our stipends, which were made so small as to do to the family of a low officer. This is not lawful and handsome pay to a family of a king. It is not unknown to the Government. This consideration made the Government to grant allowance to every one of us separately, both in the joyful and mournful occasions. The insufficiency of such allowance granted us in our every occasions, forced us to run into debts.

4. While the case being so, the Government having formed a new act, showing that a donation shall be granted to only one in every family, but not for all in the family, sent an order to be exercised it from 1859.

5. More than this, I hear that the Government issued an order that the pension of a family shall be discontinued in the fourth generation. Should these orders be forced on the descendants of the royal family, how will they take their livelihood? How shall their joyful and mournful ceremonies be done? I beg to say that it is not lawful to establish a rule to the royal family in conformity to the persons who have no right and servants. I humbly request the Government will be kindly pleased to take into consideration my aforesaid requisition, and grant separate and lawful order about our descendants.

6. The families of other rajahs obtain high salaries, being in their native country; besides this, they have houses, lands, estates, &c. It is perfectly understood by the Government. But our province, houses, lands, estates, &c., had been possessed by the Government. We were sent to this shore with empty hand; we are strangers to this country. After a pension was made to every one of us, our family became large. We thereby, having suffered much distress, as we have no other means besides the small pension which we receive monthly, run into debts.

7. I have addressed a petition to the Ceylon Government on the 15th October last, representing fully that we have no houses, lands, nor estates, &c., besides the pension and the donation that which is granted in aforesaid occasion, and soliciting that the recent orders issued against the royal family about the pension and donation must be ejected. To which the Government sent an order to me, that my petition should be sent through this Government. I thereby was reduced under the necessity of enclosing the copies of the order sent to me by that Government on the 17th November last, and of the petition submitted by me to them for Your Excellency's information.

I therefore most humbly beg Your Excellency will be kindly pleased to enquire keenly with the feelings commiseration about our destitute condition, and ascertain the faithfulness of my sayings herein adverted to, and to do me the favour of making a favourable recommendation to the Ceylon Government, that they may send orders the pension to be continued to my descendants from generation to generation, and the donation to be granted separately to every member of the royal family, as was promised by the Ceylon Government to us.

In doing this great favour to us, I shall not cease to pray God for Your Excellency's long life and prosperity.

Tanjore,

12th December, 1870.

[True copy of the Petition addressed to the Madras Government.]

TO HIS EXCELLENCY THE GOVERNOR in Council of Ceylon.

The Humble Petition of Third Queen of the late Stree Vikrama Simmala Maha Rajah,
Ex-King of Kandy, residing at Tanjore.

May it please Your Excellency,

That your Excellencies petitioner begs leave most respectfully to bring to Your Excellencies kind notice that the British Government pleased to take up our country Kandy, as well as all of our estates, &c., not only the late Rajah and his mother, and 1, 2, 4 queens, and also our near relations, and kept us all in Columbo, and maintained as this was done by the kind assistance of Government.

In 1816 delivered us over to the charge of the Madras Government, promising to support the royal family as long as India remain in their control. By order of Government, we were sent off to Vellore Fort, and were supported by daily allowance by the Resident of the place, not only we, but every one in connection with us. After the demise of our Maharajah the daily allowance was continued only for a short time to us and to our children, were mouthly monthly paid and kindly assisted on particular occasions such as marriages, death, &c., &c., up to 1858. The pay allowed to us not being sufficient to our expenses, we were compelled to run into debts. This fact will be known to Your Excellency, if a reference be made to the diaries of 1858, and to that of the previous years will shew.

Notwithstanding this, the Government has also taken away all our fortunes, moveable and immoveable, and sent us away with empty hands to Vellore, owing to which reasons they were compelled to pay us monthly as abovementioned. But ever since 1859 the Government seems to have made a new act, showing that any donation will be allowed to only one in every family, but not for all, and moreover we hear that our monthly pension will be paid to us only up to three generations. Should this system be carried on, how are we to live, and what shall we do, for our future prospects and arrangements seem quite to the reverse of the original agreement passed between our Rajah and Government. The royal families in connection with the Madras Presidency and others may be carried out in accordance of the above said rules, for they are allowed to enjoy a pension together with their moveable and immoveable properties, and this allowed in their own countries; whereas we are deprived of every enjoyment but our pension. If we are similarly allowed to enjoy moveable and immoveable properties in India instead of those we had in Kandy, and which has been deprived from us by Government, in such case the new system and act may be applicable to us; but as we are deprived of everything by Government, we shall be under a great loss and worse to that of the present, if the above rule come in force. Our royal families consist of seven souls; some of them have been married by the kind assistance of Government, and some have not been as yet married because Government has not bestowed any assistance on their behalf. The allowance granted in behalf of the parties being insufficient for the performances of their weddings, we were compelled to run into debt.

Your Excellencies petitioner begs most respectfully beg to state that Almighty God has spared my life up to this moment to plead with Government for the future prospects of the abovesaid persons. The pension allowed to us being too small, we are thereby put to great hardships to pass over livelihood. The royal families of H. H. Maharajah of Tanjore are allowed monthly Rs. 1,000 and 700 respectively, the Princes 3,000, the son-in-law 600, and the concubines 150, and many other Rajahs and Jamendars are allowed to better comfort and privileges in their own countries than we who are left entirely, every fortune of their moveable and immoveable properties to Government, such high pensions and enjoyments not being allowed to us, we are put under great poverty and hardships, which are beyond measure.

Under these circumstances we most respectfully beg that the kind and merciful Government will be generously pleased to refer the same to Madras Government, and to take a deep consideration of our small income, and to pass such decision in accordance to that of 1816, and to grant the same privileges allowed upon us up to 1858, and also to continue our pension from generation to generation, as we have not anything else to depend upon but that of our pensions. In doing this great favour to us we shall not cease to pray God for Your Excellencies long life and prosperity.

Tanjore,

5th October, 1870.

[" True copy " of the Petition addressed to the Ceylon Government]

To the Honorable the COLONIAL SECRETARY, Colombo.

No. 14.

Political Department.

Fort Saint George,
11th January, 1871.

SIR,

I am directed to forward the accompanying petition from the Kandian pensioners residing at Tanjore, praying for the abrogation of the rule under which their pensions are to be discontinued after the third generation.

2. The matter is one for the consideration of the Government of Ceylon. I am to say that the views of the Madras Government, as to the condition of these pensioners, have been expressed in my letter No. 233, dated 14th July, 1869.

I have, &c.,

R. S. ELLIS,

Chief Secretary.

No. 2,700 of 1870.

From CHINNASAMI COMARASAMY and others, the relatives of the Ex-King of Kandy, residing at Tanjore, dated 15th December, 1870.

Hearing that the Government have issued orders for the discontinuance of their stipends in the fourth generation, state that the Ceylon Government having taken possession of their lands, houses, &c., were maintaining them in Colombo; that since 1816, when the king with his family was sent to India, they have been drawing pensions; that being closely related to the said king, it is impossible for them to choose any profession.

Submitting herewith copies of their petition to the Ceylon Government of 9th October last, and order thereon, for perusal, pray that Government may cause enquiries to be made about their circumstances, and recommend to the Ceylon Government for the continuance of their pensions from generation to generation as long as the British rule exists.

To HIS EXCELLENCY THE GOVERNOR in Council of Fort Saint George.

The Humble Petition of the undersigned eleven close relatives of the late Ex-King
Vickrama Simmala Maha Rajah of Kandy, residing at Tanjore,

Most respectfully sheweth,

1. That with due respect and humble submission, we, your Excellency's petitioners, beg leave to state, that the Ceylon Government having possessed our lands, houses, estates, &c., placed our said king, his queens, and us, in Colombo, and supplied us with everything required for our sustenance.

2. In 1816, when that Government sent our said king and us, together with his family, to this India with empty hands, they promised that they will maintain us, and our descendants, as long as their colour endureth in India without any wanting, and delivered us to this Government.

3. After we have arrived to Madras, our daily allowance had been transferred to us as a monthly stipend by Government. Such stipends are, hitherto, continuing to us: besides this, the expenses of our marriage and mournful ceremonies had been done by the generosity of the Government. After the stipend was made to us, many issues are born in every family; as the stipend which we receive monthly is insufficient to our maintenance, we suffer much distress for food and raiment, which forces us to run into debts.

4. While the case being so, we hear that the Government issued an order as to discontinue our pension, that should be done to our descendants in our fourth generation.

5. We beg to assure Your Excellency that we have no here neither houses, lands, nor estates, &c. As we are a close relatives to the aforesaid king, it is impossible for us to enter into any business or situation.

6. Whatever order was issued to the persons who have no right, they will take their livelihood in any way.

7. In consequence of which, we have addressed a petition to the Ceylon Government on the 9th October last: to which they sent an order to us, representing that it should be sent through this Government. We thereby beg to enclose herein the copies of the order dated 17th November last, and of the petition submitted by us to that Government for Your Excellency's information.

We, therefore, most humbly beseech Your Excellency will be kindly pleased to have pity upon us, and enquire about our poor state, and ascertain it, and to do us the kindness of making a favourable recommendation to the Ceylon Government, that they may issue an order our pension to be continued to our descendants from generation to generation, as long as the British colour endureth, and the donation to be granted to us who are close relatives of the king in our joyful and mournful occasions, as were done to us before the recent rules were not established.

For which act of charity and justice we, Your Excellency's petitioners, shall, as in duty bound, ever pray.

Tanjore,

15th December, 1870.

| | | | |
|----------------------------------|-------------------|----------------------------------|----------------|
| (Signed in Telegu characters) | Chinnasami, | (Signed in Telegu characters) | Vengadasami, |
| " | Kumarasami, | " | Vegadasami, |
| " | Kumarasubbasami, | " | Kumarasami, |
| " | Vengadasubbasami, | " | Durysamy, |
| " | Tuckeny Ammal, | " | Pudmanabasami. |
| " | Ramasami, | | |

TO HIS EXCELLENCY THE GOVERNOR in Council of Ceylon.

The Humble Petition of the undersigned eleven close relatives of the late Ex-King Vickrama Simmala Maha Rajah of Kandy, residing at Tanjore.

Most respectfully sheweth,

That, with due respect and humble submission, we beg leave to state that after the Government possessed our aforesaid king and his family, we also were taken under their protection. Our lands, houses, and other properties had been possessed by the Government, and then the said king and we had been protected in Colombo by Government, giving separately daily allowance to every member of a family, for the space of one year.

2. In the year 1816, when the Government sent the said king with his family and us to this shore, they assured us that they will protect us and our decendants as long as their colour endureth: accordingly, the Government committed our king and us to the care of Madras Government.

3. After our arrival to Madras, the Government having stopped the daily allowance, made it a monthly stipend:—accordingly, it is continuing to us until now: besides this, the Government are affording pecuniary aids for performing the expenses of our marriage and mournful ceremonies. This generosity is done to the close relatives of the said king.

4. While the case being so, we hear that the Government issued an order to be stopped away the pensions which we receive in the fourth generation.

5. After the monthly stipend was fixed to us, many issues are born in every family of us. We suffer much distress for food and raiment by the insufficiency of our pay, and also we have no houses, lands, nor estates :—we thereby endure much difficulty.

6. We make a hard livelihood by the allowance which we get from the Government and involve in debts.

It is not right to join us who are close relatives of the king, with them who have no claim, and issue new orders. It is impossible for us, as we are close relatives to the king, to interfere in any business or in any office. Though what order was given to them who have no claim, yet it will be right to them, and they will see another livelihood.

We therefore most humbly beg Your Excellency will be kindly pleased to have pity upon us who are close relatives of the king, and take our request into Your Excellency's benevolent consideration, and eject the order that our stipends shall be discontinued in our fourth generation, because it is incumbent on the Government to protect our descendants, according to the assurances made to us by the Government when they sent us to the India from Colombo.

For which act of charity and justice we shall, as in duty bound, ever pray.

Tanjore,

9th October, 1870.

(Signed in Telegu
characters)

| | |
|---|------------------|
| | Kumarasamy |
| | Kumara Subbasamy |
| " | Sinnasamy |
| " | Vengadasubbasamy |
| " | Vengadasamy |
| " | Ramasamy |

(Signed in Telegu
characters)

| |
|----------------|
| Vengadasamy |
| Kumarasamy |
| Durisamy |
| Succaniammal |
| Padmanabasamy. |

Colonial Secretary's Office,
Colombo, 17th November, 1870.

His Excellency the Governor having taken into consideration the petition of Kumara-sami, Kumara Subbasami, and nine other relatives of the late ex-king of Kandy, residing at Tanjore, praying that the order for the discontinuance in the fourth generation of the pension allowed them by the Ceylon Government, may be cancelled, has directed that the petitioners be informed, that any representations which they may desire to make should be sent through the Madras Government.

By His Excellency's Command,

(Signed) ALLANSON BAILEY,

for Colonial Secretary.

(To be continued.)

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Part IV.

KANDYAN NOTES.

By J. P. LEWIS, C.M.G., C.C.S. (Retired.)

THE following desultory notes on different subjects were made in the Central Province, 1906-1910. They probably need correcting on some points, as they do supplementing and completing—All or any of these processes will be welcome.

Outlawed Villages.¹ The *gattaras* of Weligala were outlawed by King Rāja Sinha II, because, on an occasion when he paid the village a visit in order that he might have a view of the sea from it, the white cloth, which the villagers as in duty bound displayed, was stained with spilage. A stone engraved with the figure of a crow was erected as a visible sign that the people had been outlawed.

Medasiyapattu in Upper Dumbura was outlawed seven times for various breaches of etiquette. The whole Pattu was outlawed because a man belonging to it tried to hide a lime fruit by covering it with his foot. The people of the Pattu had to supply the King with limes. In consequence of this outlawry they became "Dehipāgana Gattaru" (lime-treading people), and the village where the incident happened Dehipāgana. The people of this village belong to the lowest class of Vellālas, who provide food for elephants. The Vidāne used to be called the *Gammahe*. (There are people of the same caste at Migamuwa and Teldeniya.)

They recovered caste, however, when King Sri Vikrama Rāja Sinha was passing through the Pattu fleeing from the British troops, by supplying him with food.

But Mr. P. A. Braybrooke, the Government Agent, outlawed them once more, for the eighth time, because they did not receive his *locum tenens*, Mr. F. B. Templer, in a proper manner. This is the tradition in the Kōrale. The stones of outlawry have been surreptitiously removed.

Gampaha was outlawed because the people said there was no house for the King and Queen when they once arrived in the Pattu.

1. See note on this subject by Mr. John H. de Silva in *Ceylon Notes and Queries*, Pt. II. (Jan. 1910), pp. 22-25.

The Gampaha people have a great idea of their own importance and good birth. This is because there were eighteen *walawwas* in the Pattu. The late Ratemahatmaya, Rambukwella, used to say that if you saw a man sitting on a high rock, the highest in the neighbourhood, the chances were that he was a Gampaha man.

The people of Wilgama in Upper Hewaheta were outlawed for eating an otter.

The people of Wiyaluwa in Uva were made outcast for telling the King on one of his journeys that there was no village there, in order to escape having to entertain him.

Alutgama and Paranagama villages in Lower Dumbara were also outlawed for not receiving the King properly, as well as Gonagama in Upper Hewaheta; the last because one of the villagers unlawfully killed an elk. A stone was set up there with the sun and moon engraved on it to denote that this royal decree was unchangeable. The villagers still remain outcast, and do not associate with or intermarry with the people of other villages.

Other Caste Distinctions.—The people of Bambarabedda, Upper Dumbara, though Vellālas, are said to be descended from slaves brought there from Uva, and therefore are left severely alone by the other Vellāla villages, with the sole exception of the village of Galadēbokkē, who are of the same class.

In the Gattara villages the people of each caste intermarry among themselves, but not with those of other castes, but with those of the same caste in other villages which have not been outlawed. Thus Vellālas marry Vellālas, Wahumpurayō, Wahumpurayō, etc.

The people of Nugatenna are of the Katupuli class, a kind of Fiscal's peons. They used to carry rods as a symbol of office. If a rod were left at a man's house, the inmates had immediately to put out white cloths as a sign of respect.

The *Madige* people are more of the nature of messengers.

There is a village in Lower Dumbara called Hurikaḍuwa Madigē. This is the only instance where the word *madige* is applied to a village of Sinhalese. But the people of this village are cattle-keepers and *tavalam* men—*timbillō*.

There are *Porawakārayō* at Dehipāgoda in Uda Nuwara, and at Kengalla in Lower Dumbara. Other Vellālas will not eat with them.

Dhobies and Hakuru caste people are the only castes that are allowed to enter a house where a ceiling cloth has been put up for some social function or other. The *Pannu Durayō* are not. Only *Hakuru* people are entitled to carry palanquins; but in the Central Province *Pannu* people now do it. The latter are only found in the Central Province. Their original occupation was to supply firewood. They are not found in Uva, where their place is taken by the *Hakuru* people.

There are *Hangidiyō* at Dantura in Yatinuwara and at Matugamuwa in Udunuwara who do painting on the walls of temples. Their headman is called the *Hangidiyō*, but they have a *Baḍal* Muhandiram who received that rank as an honour on account of his skill.

Superstitions.—There is a belief that people suffering from asthma, and also lunatics, get worse as the moon waxes. At full moon they are at their worst.

Tamarind, plantain, *murunga* and banyan trees are haunted by devils, and therefore animals are not tethered under them. Even cattle are not tethered under *murunga* or tamarind trees. "White" plantain leaves are used in devil ceremonies.

At Pādeniya people, when fishing in the river, tie the bark of the *kobonlla* (*pettan*) tree round their waists to keep away crocodiles. But perhaps this is not superstition as the bark of this tree is said to be electric.

Making Paddy Fields Devil-proof.—One day, as I passed a field in Harispattu, I heard the sound of a conch, and ascertained from the Ratamahatmaya that the devils were being driven away from the field by the *Kapurāla*. Further on I saw the *Kapurāla* engaged in this ceremony. He had over his shoulder several areka-nut flowers. Standing in the midst of the paddy he first blew the conch (or chank), and then went on repeating charms for about five minutes. He then bent down and repeated in a lower tone some more charms and ended by fixing one of the areka-nut flowers upright among the paddy. He next proceeded to another part of the field and repeated the performance. The whole field was thus treated, until at last areka-nut flowers dotted it all over. This is supposed to have the effect of handing over the field to the protection of the goddess (*tānchikaranowā*). It is Pattini that is resorted to for this purpose.

Casting a Spell over a Field.—It is possible too to perform ceremonies that have the opposite effect, that of casting a blight over a field or garden. It was stated in a court case as a subject of complaint that "the defendant made a heap of earth in the field, stuck a *daluk* branch on it, with flowers, thorns, resin (*raja-dummala*), cocoa-nut flowers, lamp wicks and betel. He also repeated charms." This erection with its adjuncts is called *atubolē*, and it is supposed to impoverish the fertility of the field, and also in some occult way to work disaster to the owner or other persons who have the temerity to cultivate it. In this instance the complainant had to pay a man Rs. 20 to take the risk of removing it. (*Atubola bandinta*—to tie *atubolas*.)

Traditions.—Leuke, or Lewuke Disāwa was a very strong man. On one occasion he moved a cannon that was obstructing his path, away with his foot. There is a picture of him in Alutnuwara Devāle in the Kēgalla District. This was the chief that Sri Vikrama Rāja Sinha, after the defeat of the King's forces at Hanwella, beheaded *pour encourager les autres*.

The people of Bēmbiya in Upper Dumbara stole the mats of the Hamapola people (Welassa), as these mats were made of *Kawan*, and substituted mats made of strips of *baja*, which proved to be much better, for the construction of the Minipe Ela. In consequence the Bēmbiya villagers were ordered to supply mats of *baja* in future. Bēmbiya is in Kandapālāta. [I am not certain whether, owing to the way in which I have recorded this, it was the Bēmbiya or the Hamapola people who had to supply *baja* mats in future. Some Kandyan reader will be able to say.]

There is a tradition that Loku Muhandiram, goldsmith of Gannōruwa, got into the bedroom of King Kirti Sri and gilded and set with gems the nails of the King without waking him. [For this story I am indebted to Mr. H. W. Codrington, C.C.S., but as I have not seen it in print I give it here.]

There is a place called Kirihalgala between Wēndaruwa and Dunuwila in Lower Dumbara, a gap between the two places. There was a *raja-wāsala* there with a tank as it was a "*rahas nuwara*" of the King's. There is a tradition that a bastard son of the King wanted to marry a Dunuwila girl, but the people of Dunuwila objected, and threw away the rice and milk which should have been offered to him.

Kortagala in Udu Nuwara was the headquarters of a Queen. The *nuwara* was divided between two princesses who quarrelled over a husband.

The Tooth Relic.—During an "insurrection" at Kandy the Tooth relic disappeared and was found at Malhewa on a rock, hence called *Daladā Karanduwagala*. Some flowers strewn

over a field in the neighbourhood led the people to the discovery of it. They built the Vihāre here in consequence. The Tooth relic then disappeared from the Vihāre and, after peace was restored at Kandy, reappeared there.

Historic Memories.—A man of Udā Bulatgama, asked by me for the date of some event, replies: "It took place in the time of Klesson Mahatmaya." Now Major Kelson was District Judge and Agent of Government of Kotmale in the Forties—some seventy years ago.

A Moorman of Harispattu, in March 1910, wishing to be exempted from further payment of road tax on the ground of age, states that he remembers when two measures of rice were sold for one rupee. This refers to the time of the Matale Rebellion in 1848.

Another man says he has been paying from the time when the tax was eighteen fanams (*daha-até kalé hiñan*). I am sorry that I did not ascertain before I left the Province when this happy period was.

Natural History: Jackals. After the harvest Jackals come to eat the crabs in the paddy fields. They are very fond of crabs as food. While eating them they turn up their jaws so as not to miss any of the "blood." Hence the Sinhalese saying of a man who is greedy: "He is looking up and eating crabs like a jackal." These are small crabs, the size of a rupee (23rd March, 1909.)

Customs: Hunting: When a deer was killed, the *Kanakaḍe*, consisting of six or seven lbs. of meat with the ear for identification of the animal, was given to the headman—Originally the head and the neck as far as the shoulders, but now only a few pounds of meat. The hind-leg, *gangaté*, went to the owner of the land.

Marriage: Cases of combined Polygamy and Polyandry are sometimes met with. The following is the evidence of a witness in a Tumpane Gansabhāwa case, date, 9 Oct., 1906.—"I married 1st Defendant. Deceased Ukku Banda was an associated husband. As 1st Defendant had no children I and the deceased Ukku Banda took 1st Defendant's younger sister as our joint wife and Hin Banda was born to her... Hin Banda is our joint son."

But Polyandry is to be found even in the Western Province. In a case from Pitiyagedara in the Siyané Kōrale the Plaintiff's father and uncle Sinchi Appu, elder brother of his father, lived with the same woman, Nono Hāmi. The Defendant was her son by Sinchi Appu the Plaintiff was the son of the other "husband," not by Nono Hāmi, but by another "wife" of the elder brother, Sinchi Appu.

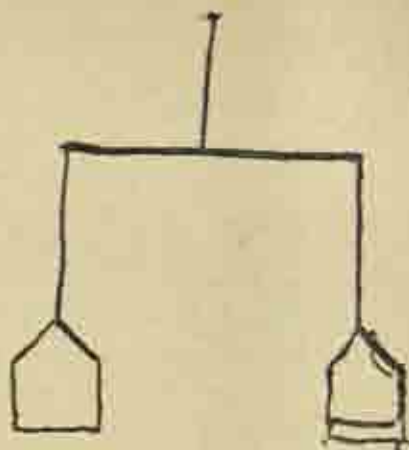
These pedigrees certainly are rather mixed and difficult to follow—especially to a worried District Judge unravelling the pedigrees of Partition cases.

Bowing at the name of Buddha: I noticed at a school function at Alawatugoda, Harispattu, that a school-boy reciting Buddhist verses, always bowed his head at the mention of the name of Buddha. This, I should imagine, is a new custom, copied from an analogous practice of certain Christians. (1908.)

Implements, etc. The *Kulagediya* is an implement used in breaking stone and in beating iron. There are different kinds for these two purposes.

Pat-assa are used for splitting asunder bull-rushes (*pan*) for weaving mats. A stalk is split into three by means of this implement. One, the thorny part, is thrown away, and the other two used.

In a boutique at Miruppe I saw an ingenious device for frightening away crows from the plantains and other things exposed for sale. It consisted of two pieces of the sides of a Kerosine oil Tin depending from a stick, so as to swing about in the wind, thus,—

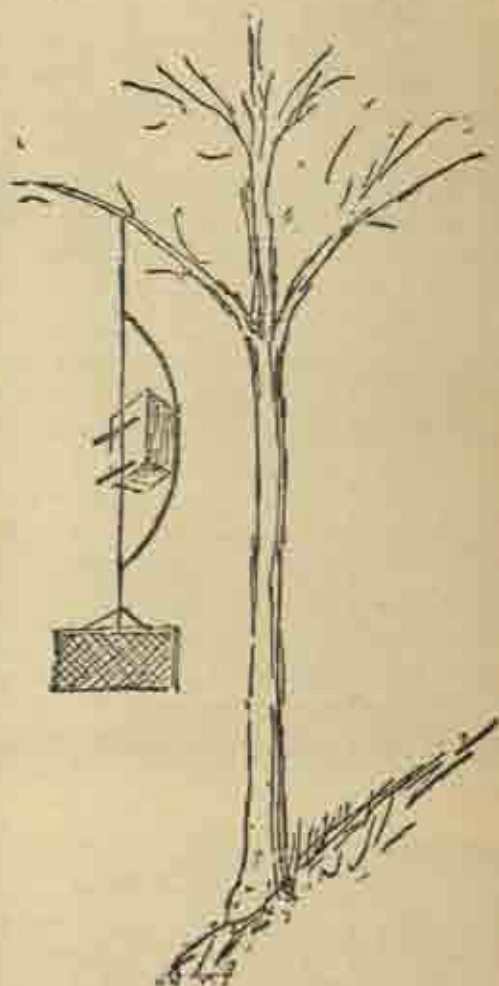


I have seen a similar device in Corsica for frightening away birds from a broad bean crop and pieces of Kerosine oil Tin depending from sticks among the beans, but single pieces only. The Ceylon device is an improvement.

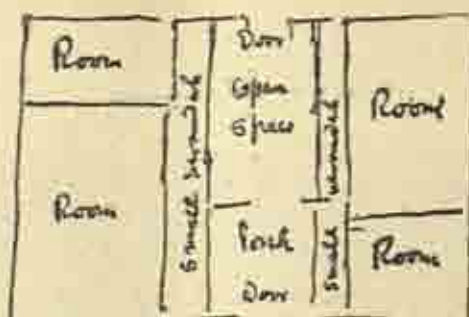
The Kerosine oil Tin, it may have been remarked, is very useful to the villager in many ways. In the Morowa Kórale I have seen a whole tin turned into a scare-crow as shown in the diagram. By means of a piece of bamboo, a string and a piece of matting the tin is made to revolve in the wind, two sticks keeping up a perpetual tattoo on it.

One Kerosine oil Tin arrangement of this kind is called *Takara-Póruwa*, but I do not think it is the one here depicted. What is the correct name?

Kerosine oil Tins are also used as buckets and for roofing houses and cooly lines, hence the "*tagarams*" of the planters.



Kandyan House: A common plan of a Kandyan house is as shown in the annexed diagram or something like it.



Old Well: There is an old well on the Unambuwa property the shaft of which is held open by 18 circular bands constructed of clay, each about a foot in diameter. These are called *urakota* (singular).

Paddy Cultivation: Parties, each consisting of five men, are to be seen turning over the soil with mamoties. They work in unison.

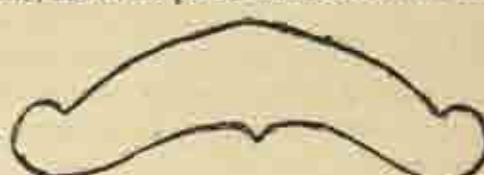
Costume: I was informed by Mr. Moonemale, the former Kandyan member of Council, that the Kandyan women of the North Central Province wore their cloth thrown over the left shoulder, whereas those of the Central Province wore it over the right. But my observation failed to corroborate this generalisation. I should be glad to hear what is the experience of others, as regards the five Kandyan Provinces.

The Kandyan costume for women is not unlike the Tamil—except that of certain of the lower castes at Jaffna. Kandyan women wear white vests, Tamil velvet (or velveteen?).

Quaint Colloquial Expressions: A man applying for exemption from payment of road tax makes a moving appeal to the compassion of the Government Agent in his capacity of Chairman of the Provincial Road Committee: "In the name of your honour's sandals I beg for exemption" (*sereppuwé nāmayāṣa nīdhās karanṣa illamī*).

Another who is more or less a cripple gives as an explanation why he cannot go to work: *Bokkē innawā*, "I am in the corner."

A Kandyan Decoration: A man of potter caste named Tennegedara Pandita Gammahala Awusada Hāmi, living at Marawanagoda in Harispattu, has in his possession a decoration consisting of a gold plate of the size and shape given in the accompanying diagram. It was given to his great-grandfather, Tettuwa Panditige Gammaha, by one of the Kandyan Kings,—he did not know which. It was worn tied on to the forehead, like an Adigar's plate.



One realises from this method of wearing a decoration the meaning of the term *Paṭabendi*, Tamil *Paṭṭamkaṭṭi* (1909).

Decisory Oaths: At Kandy these are taken, *inter alia*,

(1) On the *siviliya*, or head-dress of Vishnu, of Dodanwala Vihāré.

(2) On the *sibidiya*, or *was peṭṭiya*, a chest for keeping masks in, at the Maha Devālē,

Kandy.

(3) At the Alutnuwara Devālē. This has to be done on a Wednesday or a Saturday.

(4) On the *bana* books.

At Kurunegala oaths are taken

- (1) On the *Jūtaka* book at the *Ēṭkanda Vihāre*, administered by the *Ummāse* there.
- (2) At the *Kadiresan Kōvil*.
- (3) At the *Galebandāra Shrine*.
- (4) At the Roman Catholic Church.

Recovery from Snake Bite: One sometimes comes across cases of this when exempting men from payment of Road Tax. In Kandy I noted the following:—

- (1) A boy had one foot all twisted owing to the bite of a snake—kind unknown (*Alawatugoda*, 1908.)
- (2) A man bitten in the finger by a cobra 2 years before, while he was clearing jungle. His finger dropped off, but he recovered (*Walaha*, 25th March 1907.)
- (3) A man bitten by a cobra in the hand 10 years before. He recovered but could not bend his hand.

Also the following cases were noted at Negombo in 1892-3.

- (4) A man bitten on the foot while crossing the *nīru* of a paddy-field. He was cured, but his foot was crippled. (*Alawatugoda*, 13 Feb. 1892.)
- (5) A man was bitten by a cobra on the finger while on a coconut tree. He lost the finger. (*Mirigama*, 10 Feb. 1892.)
- (6) Another man was bitten on the arm. His arm rotted away.

Kurakkan and Quinine: Some of the Upper Dumbura people eat *kurakkan*. It is therefore, say the headmen, no use giving them quinine.

Folklore: The *Yakdessa* of the *Kōvila* at *Kumāra Gallena* in *Yatinuwara* in 1909 was an old man primed to the full with traditions and stories of the past—in fact he remarked that he knew any number of them and could go on telling them for a whole day—*tis peyuk* would not be long enough to exhaust his store of them.

One that he told me was about King "Paduwas" (*Panduwas?*) who married *Kuveni*. She was childless and 700 giants asked him to marry some one else. He married a princess of *Madras* and *Kuveni* was angry and put "the curse of the god" (*devi-dosa*) on him. To get the curse removed, a goddess, who was an image on the top of his crown, went to *Sakra Bawana* for assistance. *Sakra* assembled the gods and asked whether any of them could remove the curse or bring King *Panduwas* there. They replied that none of them could, but a prince in *Malligammana Desa* *Rahu* said he could bring the Malay (*Malayalam?*) prince to do it. Accordingly this *Malligammana* prince assumed the form of a pig and went and began to devastate the Malay (?) Prince's garden. The keeper informed his master of what was happening, and the prince hunted the pig and shot him with an arrow. The pig was not killed but ran away, with the prince after it. He pursued it into the *Vanni* and all over the Island and finally to *Hantane*. At *Hantane* the gods informed the prince that he had been brought in this way over to Ceylon in order that he might remove the curse from King *Panduwas*. The prince came first to *Gannoruwa* in order to do this, but it was not an important enough place for the performance, so he went on to *Anurādhapura*, and there removed the curse.

Three princes took part in the exorcism, viz. *Malli Rajjuruwō* (who I presume was the "Malay" prince), *Sandalinda Rajjuruwō* and *Kistri Rajjuruwō*. They all returned to *Hantane*. They deified several of the representatives of the chief Ceylon families and gave them nine caves and seven tiled temples.

Malli Rajjuruwó had 7000 followers. Kande Deviyo was one of those persons made gods by Malli Rajjuruwó at Hantane. He belonged to the Unambuwa family.

The Yakdessá also told me of a battle that took place between "the King who lived on Sandurankanda" in Udu Nuwara and Vimala Dharma. It was fought at Ilukwatta. The cause of it was that the two Kings had the same dhoby.

Kumára Gallena is a large cave under one of the rocks here. In it the wife and the son of Vimala Dharma took refuge from the Portuguese. There is a Kóvila of which the Yakdessá, a man of Durayá caste, has charge.

Folk-Etymologies : The name *Dumbara* is said to be derived from a certain queen "Udumbara Dévi."

Dimbula, from the *dimbul* tree. "In the time of King Bhuvaneka Báhu, a Rahat rested here under a *dimbul* tree."

Súriyagoda in Yatinuwara. Certain Rahats—a class of monks who have attained a higher stage of enlightenment than the ordinary monks—happened to come to this place with the food which they had obtained by begging, when suddenly they found that darkness had enveloped the sky, making it impossible for them to ascertain what time it was, so they could not tell whether or not it was too late for them to have their meal, which of course could not be taken after midday. One of them threw up a stone, and the sun immediately became visible. They measured the length of the shadow and found that they were not too late. Hence the name (*súriya*—the sun). The original name of the place was *Kadawedduwa*. There is no other place in Yatinuwara where the ground has been trodden by Rahats.

Moladanda : A gold pestle was buried here.

Ranawane is the adjoining village. Here a gold mortar was buried.

Ganahata : A Brahmin found a jewel here which brought him the seven *guna*.

Waradiwela : In Lower Dumbara on the road to Rangalla. The "field where a mistake was made."

Barigama in Harispattu. There is a spout (*pihilla*) here. The water was weighed in Sinhalese times (*Sinhala kálé*), and found heavy, hence the name. (It is supposed that the colder the water is, the heavier it is.)

Mápanawatura : A priest was put into the river to drown. As he stood there he addressed the water thus: "*Má pamana*," "rise to my height only." This it did and he escaped.

Pseudo-Sinhalese Name : Each one of the foregoing explanations is probably an invention to account for a particular name; but the following is the opposite viz. the invention of a name. There is an estate in Pusselláwa called Sogama, a name which might pass for Sinhalese any day, but in reality it is compounded of the first two of the letters of the names of each of the three brothers who opened it: Solomon, Gabriel and Maurice Worms. The result is a fine specimen of pseudo-Sinhalese.

Topographical : Uda Paláte, Uda Bulatgama and Uda Nuwara in Kandyan times formed a *Disávani* called Kanda Uda Maha Disávani, alias Sindurawanabada Uda Paláta.

Rivers : The Koraionka Ganga comes from Kadiyan-lena and falls into the Mahaweli-ganga at Deeside.

The Kotmale Ganga falls into it at Pallegama, where a detachment of British troops was encamped in 1817-1818.

The river at Rattota is the Kaludéwa Oya, alias the Kuruwariya Oya.

Roads : The old road from Kandy to Matale passes the following places. —

Uda Mahaiyāwa (a part of Kandy).

Māwilmada, where the massacre of 1803 took place.

Polgolla, across the river Mahaweliganga, $4\frac{1}{2}$ miles.

Doragamuwa.

Ētgala, where there was a camp established, 1815, 10 miles.

Uda Daranda.

Marukona.

Ukuwela, 14 miles.

Mātale, 17 miles.

From the compound of the Gansabāhāwa at Dawulugala there are visible, from left to right respectively, the mountains called "The Asses' Ears," Pedro, "The Peacock Mountain," Adam's Peak and Ambuluwāwa (the mountain that dominates Gampola.)

At the bottom of the hill below Kadawala near Ginigat-hēna there is a pretty view of the river. The reverse side of Raksāwa and of the Sentry Box (i.e. from that seen from Dolosbāge) is visible from Kadawala.

From the road Teldeniya to Urugala can be seen the pillar erected to mark the site where Sri Vikrama Rāja Sinha, the last King of Kandy, was captured, but it takes some looking-out for, and it is only visible at two points, one from the $20\frac{1}{2}$ mile-stone, and the other between the $20\frac{1}{2}$ and $20\frac{3}{4}$ mile stones. There is a tamarind tree to the left of it, and below it, to the left, a *karanda* tree with very light green leaves. The pillar has been painted white to make it more easily seen.

On the road from Nugatenna to Madugoda the circular threshing floors dotted about in the fields below the road on the right are noticeable. In wet weather they become circular ponds.

The *Siniya* and *Mādan* trees are common here, also the "patana oak" and the *Nelli* tree.

Wahakotte is situated opposite the 36th mile-stone from Kandy on the road to Galwala, which is distant from Kandy 40 miles. In 1908 there were 653 inhabitants with 487 cattle. There were no tiled houses. The people are supposed to be descendants of Portuguese captives of the king of Kandy, Rāja Sinha II, and there seem grounds for crediting this tradition. The village has always been Christian, and the men nearly all have the title of Don as a name, which is not found among other Kandyans. The prenomens is "*Portugisge*." There were in 1908, 348 males and 305 females.

The church, which is modern and mean, for the people are poor, is dedicated to St. Anthony of Padua, and possesses an old wooden figure of him. I made two visits to Wahakotte, on 7th Dec., 1907, and on 27 July, 1908.

"The Sleeping Warrior."



The above shows the outline of this mountain and of Medamahanuwara-kanda as seen from Deltota, from which point of view the resemblance to a sleeping man with a Roman nose is perfect. The Sinhalese name of the mountain is Nawanagala. The face is formed at a distant view from the seeming juncture of the Nawanagala peaks and Nugagala.

Dewiyanne-gala is a rock opposite Balane where there is a cave with a Vihāre under it. On the top Rāja Sinha II used to have a *pattirippuwa* or pavilion, and he had one also on Balane-kanda to watch the country and the Portuguese from.

Rikiligas-goda or **Rikiligaskada** is situated at the top of two gradual ascents, one from the Maha Oya at the 15th mile from Kandy, and the other from the Bilihul-Oya at the 30th (?). Hence *-goda* in the name, meaning high land, separating two water-sheds. *Kada*=gap. There is one where it gets into the valley of the Bilihul-Oya from that of the Maha Oya. Hence both forms of the name are appropriate, but there seems to be more authority for the former than for the latter.

Tanks: The village of Dunuwila contains five tanks :—

- (1) Ilukwewa
- (2) Dunuwila
- (3) Angamadewewa (7)
- (4) Gonagala
- (5) Siriwardanewewa (7)

I am uncertain about the names of (3) and (5), my notes respecting them being more or less illegible. I should be glad if some one would give the correct names. Possibly (5) (corrected) is another name for (4). If so the name of (5) is unknown to me.

Trees.—Talking of trees, the *uguressa* is one of those of which the leaves, when they are young, are of a brilliant red. This is very noticeable in December on the road from Gam-pola to Craighead.

Mora trees are of a light-green and pink in April. One may extend these remarks to the flowering and ornamental trees of Kandy town.

The cotton trees (*imbul*) are as regards blossoming at their best towards the end of January.—The *cassia* (*grandis*) trees on the way up from the station begin to flower also at this time. The *ingasamans* are then getting new leaves. They and the *cassias* are in flower in March and the *amherstias* are at their best. Mahoganies and *Bo* trees are getting new leaves, but the former are not regular; some of them start this process long before others. *Nā* trees and *cassias* are going out of flower, and so are the *imbuls*.

In March-April the *peltophorum* is in flower, and again in August-September. The *spathodeas* are beginning to show their scarlet blossoms. The *peltophorums* in fact may be seen in flower in February, June and December, and the *amherstias* and *spathodeas* also continue in flower for months, but in June the latter are bare of both flowers and leaves.

In May-June *Nā* trees are in flower, some flower as early as April.

Lagerstroemias come into flower at the end of April, and remain in flower until July.

The *Perkin Roxburghii* trees of Kandy have, I believe, all been cut down. They flowered early in the year or perhaps in December; they are in seed and leafless in March-April.

The Ceylon almond is leafless in August—September.

ANTIQUITIES IN THE SOUTHERN PROVINCE.

DIARY OF THE LATE MR. E. R. AYRTON.

(Archæological Commissioner of Ceylon.)

WITH NOTES BY JOHN M. SENAVERATNA.

(Continued from Vol. VI, Page 153.)

THE RUINS AT DONDRA.

12-3-14: Went over at Dondra, and down to see the two small Kovils on the sea shore.

Of these, one on the rocks, said by the Kapurāla to be the place where the Kataragam Deviyo landed, is marked by only one standing and three fallen pillars. The site is at present used for leaving the poles of the outrigger canoes.

The other Kovil is at the coast end of the road leading due south from the great gate of the Vishnu Devāle. It is a group of pillars of which all except the two of the entrance and the four of the shrine are mere rough blocks of stone and therefore probably originally in a wall. The four of the shrine are now connected by coral and mud wall and the room has a thatched kadjan roof. In the room is an altar slab (in pieces) of granite placed wrong side up on a coral and mud base. Originally it must have stood on a pillar as the hollow in the bottom indicates.

The Kapurāla said that offerings are made here to Kataragam Deviyo, and that he sat on this stone after landing. Being pressed the Kapurāla owned that the stone had been found lying in fragments near by and was set up here recently.

The Devāle is now called the Devundara Singhāsana.

The house and stone were set up 25 years ago.

Kapurāla, aged 75 years, has held kapu 50 years. His great-grand-father, father and self have all been Kapurālas (name Dakuṇṇa Palāte Andra Henedige Wattuhami.)

In the introduction to the Dondra Vihāre's Visitors' Book it is stated that the Temple of Galturu-mulpaya or modern Parama-wichitrārāma Vihāre with 3 shrines, pagoda, with relics of Buddha, Bo tree and two consecrated edifices stood in the heart of the town of Dondra. Galturu-mulpaya was originally a four-storied building. It possessed Devāles.

1801. A Dhammarakkita was incumbent of Galturu-mulpaya, then in ruins. He repaired the Dāgaba, erected an image hall and a preaching hall and priests' houses, died 1834. Then followed several priests and then A Ratnajothi, and in 1897 the present incumbent, J. Puṇarātina, who restored the image house.

Amarapura. Both shoulders. Has under his control the Dāgaba, Vihāre and priests' houses.

The old name of the town was Dévanāgara and does not mean the City of the Gods but the "City of the King of the Gods—Vishnu." This appears to have been the original temple here—that of Vishnu, the Buddhist shrines being a later addition. The *Situ Pilimage* is old though later than the Vishnu temple, but all the present *Dāgaba* and *ponsalas* are more modern, being built at a higher level and with the old materials. In fact the name *Galturu-mula-paya* (which suggests a hill-pabbata) seems to have no connection with the place and was probably given by the learned restorer who knew his *Mahāvansa*.

On the other hand Parākrama Báhu's Vihāre with a Nirvāna statue was probably one of those in ruins to the west of the Devāle.

And the three-storied image-house of Parākrama Báhu IV of Gampola was also probably there.

It seems to have gone by the name Bhūmi Mahā Vihāre—the whole Vihāre that is.

The Nāgarisa Nīla Temple is of course the Temple of Vishnu (the Nāgara Isvara) of Siri Vijaya Báhu in the 15th century. Vijaya Báhu I's Uruwēla Vihāre was also probably here. There is a Vihāre on a hill half-way between Mātara and Dondra, which may be Galturumula of the *Nikāya Sangrahawa*, but as this does not say that it was at Dondra, one wonders why the priest adopted that name for the Vihāre if there was no tradition.

From a paper lent by the High Priest

Mahāvansa mentions that the Nuwara is not second to any other in Ceylon.

The Nuwara was founded 1205 B. V. (= 661 A. D.) when Dappula or Dāpula ruled in Anurādhapura. He built the Kihireli Vihāre at Devinuwara.

It is traditional that at that time there were 18 *Mahā Veethi* (large roads), 18 ordinary roads, 18 *Obukku* (broad roads), 18 *Mudukku* (paths),¹³ 18 *Thonādi* (stone wells), 18 *vewu* (tanks); at the 4 cardinal points there were four Devāles.

Paravī Sandesa says that when Sri Parākrama Báhu was King of Jayawardhana Nuwara he founded the Devinuwara. The *Dāgaba* is there called *Gala-tura-mula-pāya*.

The Nandana Pirivena was erected in 1801 B. V. (= 1257 A. D.) by Vira Báhu, cousin or son-in-law of Parākrama Báhu the Great. He also erected monasteries, etc. for priests.

The *Mahāvansa* mentions the erection of a *dāgaba* like a hubble by Dapulla II in 1205 B. V.¹⁴ The *dāgaba* is called Kihireli Vihāra.

In 1609 B. V. (= 1065 A. D.) the Kihireli Vihāra (Wata *dāgaba*) was restored at the time when Vijaya Báhu I, was King of Polonnaruwa.

In 1844 B. V. (= 1300 A. D.) *Ol-pilimage* (Vihāre for standing Buddha) was erected by Parākrama Báhu IV when he was reigning at Kurunegala. Also he built the two-storied building called *Sinhāsana* at Devinuwara and offered the village named *Getamāna* (app. 10m. from Dondra).

In *Paravī Sandesa*.—The Vihāre for the standing Buddha was erected by Senālakādhi Senaviratna, A.D.C. of Buhanaika IV¹⁵ of Gampola.

Nikāya Sangrahawa.—It is mentioned that Senālakadhikāra Senaviratna built three storied *Pilima-ge*.

Paravī Sandesa.—The Vishnu Devāle is said to have been erected by Dāpula Sen in 1205 B. V.

13. Rather "lanes."

14. A. D. 661.

15. Buvaneka Báhu IV.

Bell. *Kegalla District Report*, p. 96 : Devundara Devāle Sannasa : Siri Sangabo Sri Vijaya Bāhu VII (1505 A. D.) 1516 A. D. grants the land Sittatiya in Dolosdāhas Kōrale and the village Tumbagođa to the Utpalavarṇna Devi Mahā Rāja (Vishnu).

Ceylon. By an officer, 1876 :

Vol I, p. 261 : Ibn Batuta 1344 A.D. descends Adam's Peak by way of Ratnapura and comes to "Dinēwar (Dondra), a large place on the sea inhabited by merchants, where there was a large temple containing an idol made of gold as large as a man, having two rubies for eyes, that looked, he was told, like lanterns at night. There were 1,000 Brahmins attached to the temple, and 500 girls, daughters of Indian chiefs, who danced and sang every night." The town and its revenues belonged to the temple

Ptolemy's *Dagona luna sacra*.

Arabian *Agna Dana Dinēwar*.

P. 262 : "The great temple of which Ibn Batuta speaks was sacked and destroyed by Souza de Aronches, in 1587."

"The ruins of the ancient temple still encumber the ground, among which are many finely cut pillars and carved stones."

Suggests derivation of *Dagona* from Sanskrit word for a sacrificial fire *Dagdha agna*, &c. [Probably from its old name of Devanagara.]

Rajavaliya p. 57.—Siri Sangabō built Piyagal Pirivena and Devunuwara. Mahālēpāno built Devunuwara.

Ceylon. By An Officer, p. 240. Abu Jaid says, A.D. 916 : "There were numerous costly temples in the island, and an idol of pure gold, the size of which had been much exaggerated by mariners visiting the place." Probably idol at Dondra of Ibn Batuta.

Pieris. *Ribeiro's Ceilao*, P. 4 mentions the Pagoda of Tanaware as in the kingdom of the king of Kōtta.

P. 5. "Almost all his territory which stretched from Chilao to two miles beyond the Temple of Tanaware were cinnamon jungles,"

P. 41. Tribuli Pandar escapes to Tanavaré (1555).

P. 59. Bridge mentioned by the side of the Pagoda of Tanavaré.

P. 76. 1588. Destruction of the pagoda of Tanaverem by Thomé de Sousa.

App. ½ m. to S. is *Kandaswami's Kovil*. Tradition that he landed there on a stone patuwa (raft), where the fallen stone pillars are on a cluster of rocks at the sea beach, and then settled at the place above, due S. from the S. entrance of the Maluwa of the Temple. At Vanvasala, app. 2m. from the Vihāre, is an old Bo tree. No date.

Stone well of good water, said to cure itch and leprosy, supposed to be one of the 18 wells of the tradition.

The Ganesa and Nandi at the Pansala are said to have been found near the light-house, but there are no remains now.

The Temple is divided into two sections—the Buddhistical under the Buddhist Priest and the Devāles under an aged Kapurāla.

The Devāles are the eastern part and at present consist of a large Vishnu Devāle—built in the shrine of the old temple—of whitewashed brick or stone, thatched with (? tiles) cadjans. This is simply a rectangular room with three entrances. On each side of the south, or main, entrance is a fine stone-grating window let into the wall which probably belonged to the older temple.

Facing the south is a standing stucco figure of Vishnu. The walls are decorated with his Avatars.¹⁶

The tradition is that there was a stone image of Vishnu here which looked straight out to sea. All shipping was at a standstill since the ships could not pass his glance until a man named "Goldsmith" made it look down. This image, says tradition, was removed to Alutnuwara when the temple fell into ruin and then to Dambulla. They do not know if it is still at Dambulla or not. The porch of the shrine, roofed and half walled, on the South has two of the old pillars included in it.

This Devāle is in charge of Kapurāla (Alumettiya) in N.C.P. Don Carolis Abayasinghe Wickremaratna Kodipil Mahadevāle Kapurāla, 80 years old, 60 years Kapurāla. His family have been Kapurālas here for 8 generations. There are 8 Kapurālas connected with this Devāle under this head Kapurāla. They have nothing to do with the priests, but the offerings are under the Basnayaka Nilame of Dikwela. They get a small salary and do no other work, except charming for sickness. On festival days they dance before the shrines.

On the west of this Vihāre stands the Galbadā¹⁷ House where offerings of rice, &c., are stored on the almsgiving day.

On the east is a small open shed—the Lamp House—where the lamps are cleaned and kept during festivals.

On the East are the other shrines—a large one of Kataragam Deviyo and six attached shrines—of Nalli-māta, Pattini, Alub Deviyo, Ganesa, Basnā-ira (Western) Deviyo, Samana Deviyo. These have no images but on festival days they are cleaned out, cattle wander through

16. Or incarnations. The ten Avatars of Vishnu are:

- (1) The Matsya or Fish avatar, under which form Vishnu preserved Manu, the ancestor of the present human race, during a universal deluge.
- (2) The Kūrma or Tortoise Avatar.
- (3) The Varāha or Boar Avatar.
- (4) The Nara Simha or Man-lion Avatar.
- (5) The Vāmana or Dwarf Avatar.
- (6) The Bhārgava or Parasu Rama.
- (7) The Rāma Chandra or Kōdanda Rama.
- (8) As Krishna; this is the most celebrated of his avatars, in which he is supposed to have been completely incarnate.
- (9) As Buddha. The Brahmans consider Buddha to have been a divine incarnation of Vishnu, assumed by him to induce the Avaras to abandon the Vedas, by which they lost their supremacy.
- (10) The White Horse (yet future).

17. Galbadā-gā.

them at present, and banners with images of the god painted on them are hung against the East Wall for the people to worship. Each has its own Kapurāla.

The whole premises is allowed to grow over with weed and cattle wander about in the shrines, except the Maha Devāle which is kept shut, being only cleared at the time of the festival. The foundations of the old temple have been more or less left in place with many of the old pillars.

The old gateway on the south is a splendid piece of work in granite. It has been propped up with pillars and inclines slightly backwards. North of this is a plain moonstone and threshold of stone slabs and then an avenue of columns leading into the shrine. The old shrine seems to have been built of brick since the foundation stones, instead of being cut with a trough for the wall, as would be the case were they of stone, have been left rough at this part as if for brick. The arrangement of the walls is puzzling unless we have here an inner shrine surrounded by an ambulatory.

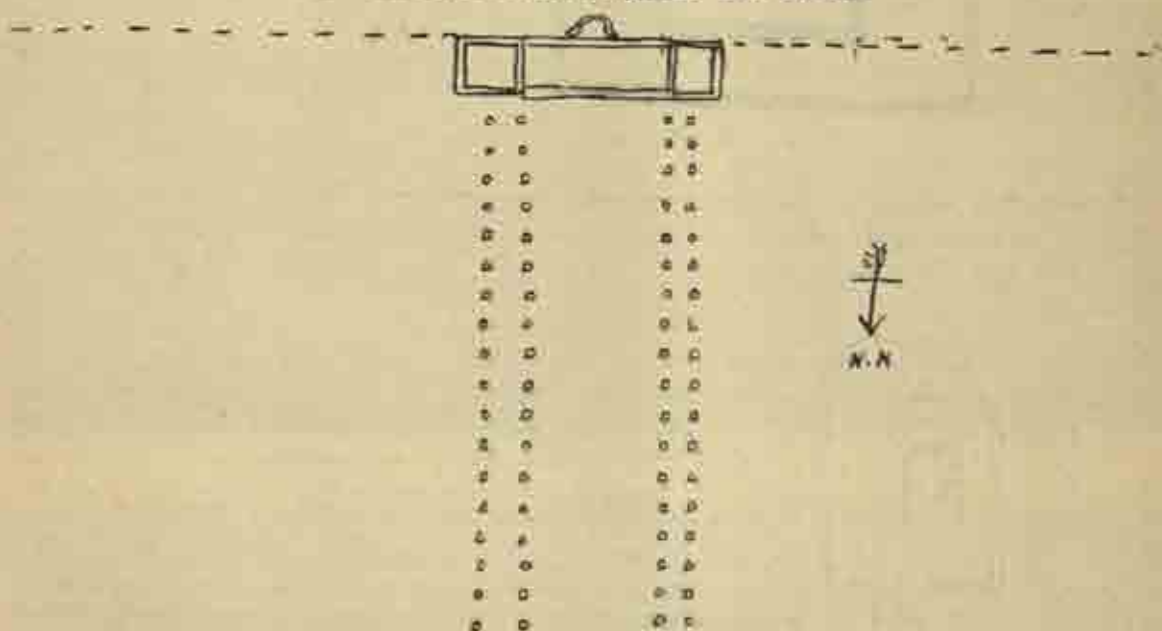
On each side of the porch of the Maha Devāle is an old Gaja Singhe, and two others rest against the lamp room.

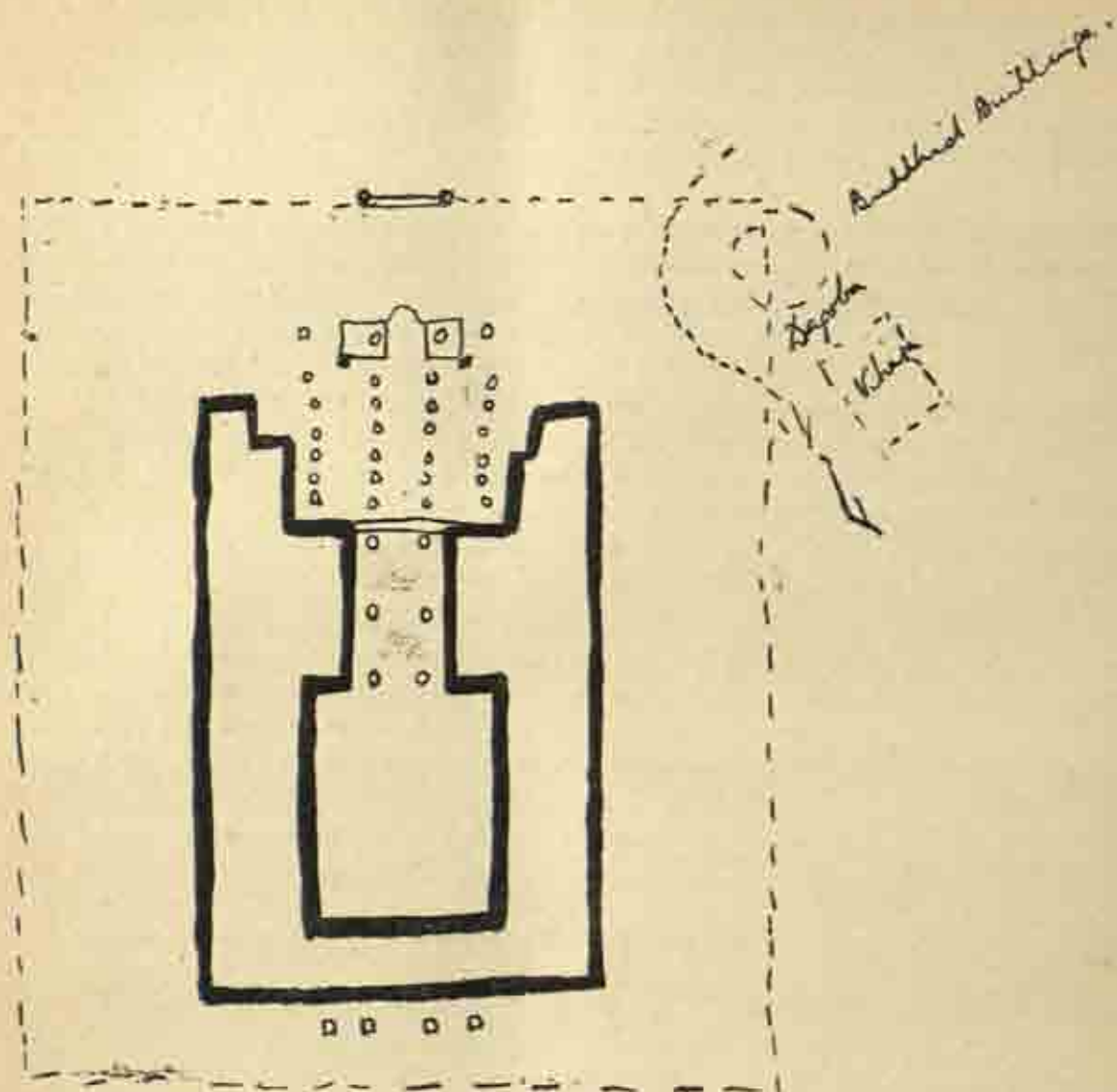
The Katragam Devāle has an old plain moonstone and to the south of the Galbadā-gé are two old basins of stone, and a fragment of sculptured stone.

To the south of this part, which is surrounded by a modern wall of cabook, the old gate being the main entrance, is a long double (?) avenue of pillars which lead to the edge of the old *Maluwa*. There was here a very large portico originally, and it is said that in processions the Kapurāla could ride his elephant through it. He could not have got much further on account of the lowness of the pillars of the corridor. Here the moonstone is plain with only a raised edge curling at the ends.

On the west of this avenue are some odd pillars which may have formed a side entrance.

Plan of supposed ancient Nagarisa Nīla Devāle.



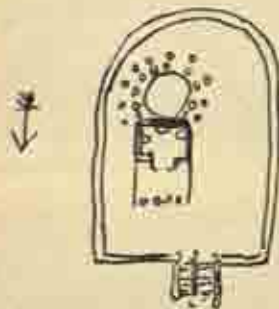


The whole space to the west of the Hindu Temple is occupied by Buddhist buildings. The Dagaba and Vihara on raised ground encroach slightly at the S.W. corner on the Kapurāla's preserves.

The Dagaba is surrounded by the stumps of old pillars in two rows and may originally have been a Wata-dā-gé, as it is called in the Priest's paper.

The Vihara on the north is modern; over the door is the date 2402 B.V. (1858 A.D.) On the south wall is a seated relief figure of Buddha. On the east wall is (from S.) a painted Sumana (elephant *vāhana* and lotus bud in right hand), a standing Maitreya in relief.

On the west wall (from S.) a standing Buddha in relief, a painted Nātha Deviyo with open flower in right hand, but no *vāhana*. On the west side of the door an Avatar of Vishnu.



At the foot of the steps to the platform are two stone elephants broken and covered with plaster (W. & E. balustrades) and the three pillars at the top of the stairs are old. The central one has carved on the rectangular base on E. a figure of Kattragam Deviyo + 5 heads, on N. a Ganésa Deviyo, on S. a human being shooting a bow. And on West a man on boat shooting, many arms and 3 heads (? Ravana).

To south of the Dagaba enclosure are modern priests' houses, many with old Gaja Singhes and moonstones. There are the remains of an old *situ-pilima-gé*, from which a standing Buddha near the dagaba is said to have come. A new Vihare is being built at the S. end of this.

On the hill behind the village of Dondra is the Gal-gé. A small Vishnu (?) Devale in good condition; had this cleared of roots and jungle. Owing to the wall being double with rubble between, roots growing in the rubble have forced off the outer face on the west side. The brick spire has completely disappeared. The doorways slant.

(To be continued.)



REVERENCE FOR PARENTS AND FILIAL DUTIES

IN ANCIENT CEYLON AND THE EAST

By JOHN M. SENAVERATNA, F.R.H.S.

ONE of the most significant and at the same time one of the most charming stories which the *Mahāvamsa* relates to us has reference to that great Sinhalese King, Aggabodhi the Eighth's devotion to his mother; and the story portrays for us, or rather exemplifies, vividly and faithfully, the kind and manner of the reverence which governed the conduct of the Sinhalese or Eastern child towards his parent in the olden times.

King Aggabodhi's Devotion to His Mother.

This is what the old chronicle tells us in simple yet picturesque language :—

"He (King Aggabodhi VIII) was constant in his attendance on his mother, both by day and night; and he was wont daily to wait on her betimes and anoint her head with oil, and cleanse her body, and purge the nails of her fingers, and wash¹ her tenderly, and dress her in clean and soft clothing. The garments also that she had cast off he washed with his own hands, and sprinkled on his crowned head the water in which they were dipped.

"He made offerings of flowers and perfumes to her as at a shrine, and then bowed himself² before her three times, and walked round her³ with great reverence, and commanded that her servants should be provided with meat and raiment, according to their desire.

"And afterwards he fed her from his own hands with dainty food, and himself ate of the remnants, whereof he scattered a portion on his own head. And after he had seen that her servants were fed with the best of the King's table, he perfumed and set in order her bed-chamber, in which he had himself laid out her bed carefully with his own hands.

"And then he washed her feet and anointed them with soft and sweet-smelling oil, and, setting himself down by her side, he rubbed and pressed her legs until sleep came over her. Then three times walked he round her bed with great reverence, and having made proper obeisance to her, he commanded her servants and slaves to keep watch over her.

"And when he departed from the bed-chamber he turned not his back upon her, but stepped backwards noiselessly till he could not be seen, and bowed again three times towards where she lay; and bringing to mind oftentimes the service he had done unto his mother, he returned to his palace in great joy.

"In this selfsame manner did he serve his mother all the days of his life."⁴

1. "Bathe" would be the better rendering, as in the Sinhalese text.

2. "Worshipped," i.e. made salutation with folded (clapsed) hands.

3. The *pagabbhāna*, a mode of reverential salutation by walking round a person or object, keeping the right side turned to him or her (or to it).

4. *Mahāvamsa* (Wijesinha's trans.) Ch. XXX. 51-52.

The Laws of Manu.

The explanation of what, in our day, may be regarded as this "excessive devotion" on the part of a son—and he an anointed king—towards his mother may be found in the dictum of the ancient law-giver Manu who declares :

"A teacher⁵ surpasses in venerableness ten sub-teachers⁶; a father, a hundred teachers; but a mother surpasses a thousand fathers."

Now, knowing as we do how closely the Ordinances of Manu governed the conduct and lives of the Sinhalese kings and people of the past⁷ as they did those of other ancient Eastern peoples, let us proceed to find out what else these Ordinances have to tell us on the subject of filial duty and reverence.

The term "father" implied the highest form of respect. For Manu declares :

"The learned term the teacher *father* by reason of his communicating the Veda" (ii. 171),

"The Brahman who is the cause of the Vedic birth and the director of one's duty, even though a youth, is legally the *father* of an old man whom he teaches" (ii. 150).

"The wise have called an ignorant man a child, but one who communicates the *mantra* a *father*" (ii. 153).

* * * * *

"A teacher is the image of Brahma⁸; a father is the image of Prajapati⁹; a mother is the image of the earth; one's own brother is the image of one's self (ii. 225),

"So a teacher, a father, or mother, and an elder brother, are not to be disrespectfully treated, especially by a Brahman, even though injured (226).

The pain that a father and mother endure in producing human beings, of that acquittance cannot be made even by hundreds of years (227).

"One should ever do what is pleasing to them and to a teacher always; for these three being satisfied, all austerity is accomplished (228).

"Obedience to these three is called the highest austerity; except permitted by them,¹⁰ one should not perform other religious duties (229).

"For they themselves are the three worlds; they are also the three orders¹¹; they are the three Vedas, and they also are called the three fires¹² (230).

"The father indeed is the *gārhapatya* fire, the mother is said to be the *dakṣiṇa* fire, but the Gurn is the *āhavanīya*; this fire-triad is most venerable (231).

"A householder not neglectful to those three will conquer the three worlds; like a god, illuminated by his own body, he rejoices in the sky¹³ (232).

5. E. W. Hopkins, *The Treatises of Manu* (Triton's Oriental Series, II. 140).

6. "The twice-born man who, having invested a pupil with the sacred string, teaches him the Veda, with its ritual and *śrautāntara* (lit. "the mysteries"), him the learned term teacher (*guru*). (*Ord. of Manu*, II. 140).

7. "He is called sub-teacher (*upadhyaya*) who for his livelihood teaches a single portion of the Veda, or again the Vedāṅgas" (II. 141).

8. Vide the *Mahābhārata*, e.g. "Nor did the king (Parākranta Bāhu) transgress in the least any of the rules contained in the Laws of Manu" ch. LXXX, & Parākranta Pandit "transgressed not the Laws of Manu" Ib. 13; "And those who were doomed to be banished, the lord of the land (Parākranta Bāhu II), like the great law-giver Manu, fined in a thousand pieces of money." Ch. LXXXIII. 8. The same king in Ch. LXXXIV. 1 is described as being "well versed in the Laws of Manu."

9. The first deity of the Hindu triad, the creator of the world, the great father and lord of all.

10. Progenitor of mankind, mind-born son of Brahma.

11. One should not undertake a pilgrimage or (according to the commentator) practise asceticism if it interferes with attendance on these three.

12. They are: (a) studentship, (b) condition of a householder, and (c) that of a hermit who lives in the jungle of woods. (Or, omitting the student, the yati, ascetic, makes the third.)

13. These fires are on circular, semi-circular, and square altars respectively.

14. According to Hopkins, this is a remnant of the old conception of god as light and the sky as the place of light. Literally these words might be rendered, "shining" (the shining one (God) in the shining (sky)).

"By devotion to his mother he obtains this world : by devotion to his father, the middle world ; but by obedience to his Guru, the Brahma-world (233).

"All religious duties are fulfilled by him by whom those three persons are respected ; but of him by whom those are not respected, all acts are fruitless (234).

"As long as those three live, so long let him do no other religious duty ; he should, devoted to their desires, ever do obedience to just those three (235).

"Whatever act he may do with a view to a future state, by mind, word or deed, and without derogation to them, let him tell them that" (236).

"By acting thus toward those three, the obligation of a man is indeed completed ; that is plainly the highest religious duty ; other duty is called subordinate religious duty" (237).

Rules of Behaviour.

Apart from these generalities Manu details certain specific rules of behaviour for the guidance of the student in his external relations with his parents as well as teacher. These rules, summarised, may be stated thus :—

(a). Whenever he (the student or youth) appears before any one of them (father, mother or teacher), he must do so "composed, restrained both in body and speech and organs of sense and mind," standing "with the palms of his hands together" and gazing at their face (ii. 192).

(b). If addressed "Be seated," he must sit opposite them (193).

(c). In their presence he must "always have the worse food, clothes and garments" ; he must get up in the morning before them and go to rest last (194).

(d). When listening to and conversing with them, he must not recline, nor be seated, nor eating, nor standing with his face turned aside (195).

(e). He must do so standing if they be seated, but approaching them if standing ; meeting them if they advance, and running after them if they run ; facing them if their faces be turned away ; going near if they be standing far off ; but reverencing them if lying down, and in their proximity if standing (196, 197).

(f). His bed and seat must be always low in their presence ; he must not sit as he likes within eyesight of them (198).

(g). He must not utter their mere names¹⁵ even behind their backs ;¹⁶ he must not imitate their gait, speech, acts (199).

(h). Where there is detraction or even blame of them, he must there stop both ears, or go from thence elsewhere (200).

(i). He must not when at a distance salute them, nor if angry,¹⁷ or in proximity of a woman¹⁸ ; and so, if on a vehicle or seat, he must first descend and accost them (202).

(j). He must not sit with them to the leeward or windward of them ; and he must not say anything at all in a tone too low for them to hear (203).

(k). He might sit with them in a bullock—, horse—, or camel-carriage, on a terrace,¹⁹ pavement,²⁰ and mat, and on a rock, plank,²¹ or boat (204).

15. "But he should not inform them if he does anything derogatory," says the commentator.

16. Hopkins says it is remarkable that this notion is still current, and it is thought even now in Southern India highly indecent to mention direct the names of certain persons. A married woman who is a witness in court (*etc.*) will never mention her husband's name, but will (if possible) get some bystander to tell it. (So it is among the Sinhalese).

17. That is, he should put a respectful epithet before the name even when speaking of them behind their backs (says a commentator).

18. Or when they are angry (see, to the commentator).

19. As, for instance, when the teacher stands in the presence of his wife.

20. That is, the earth at the top of the house.

21. "Pavements" of grass.

22. That is, wooden settee.

(1). "So should be his constant behaviour to his Gurus in learning, to his own blood-relatives, to those who forbid him from wrong, also to those who indicate his good" (206).

Illustrations from "The Jātaka."

If we turn now to the *Jātaka* or stories of the Buddha's former births, we will find numerous instances of what in these "progressive" days may seem to be extraordinary filial devotion, narrated by the Buddha himself and indicating, only too clearly, how radically and how lamentably the world differs today in this respect from the ancient East.

Support of Parents.

The support of one's parents was a cardinal duty, a religious obligation. The *Sutano Jātaka*³³ is the story of a poor householder who supported his parents; and the *Guttila Jātaka* (No. 243) is the story of Guttila the Musician who married no wife in order to maintain his blind parents, and who is one of the four men who "even in their earthly bodies attained to glory in the city of the gods."³⁴ In the *Gāmanī-Caṇḍa Jātaka* (No. 257), one of the tests by which the courtiers tried the wisdom of Prince-Adāsa-mukha was to dress up a monkey like a man and bring him to the Hall of Judgment. "Sire," they then declare, "in the time of the King your father this man did his duty to father and mother, and paid respect to old age in his family. Him you should keep with you."

And the *Sankha Jātaka* (No. 442) tells us that, in the days when Brahmādatta reigned in Molini (modern Benares), "a divinity named Mani-mekhalā had been commanded by the four Lords of the World: 'If by shipwreck any ill befall men who have gone to the Three Refuges, or are endued with virtue, or who worship their parents, you should save them'; and to protect any such, the Deity took station upon the sea."

There were few things which the Buddha commended and exhorted so often as this duty of supporting one's parents, and he not infrequently gave examples of filial reverence and devotion as practised among even birds and beasts in order to give point to his admonitions in this respect.

We have the reference to the Brother who had his mother to support. The Buddha asked him whether he, a Brother, was really supporting persons who were still living in the world. This the Brother admitted. "How are they related to you?" the Buddha went on. "They are my parents, Sir." "Excellent," the Buddha said; and bade the Brethren not be angry with this Brother. "Wise men of old," said he, "have done service even to those who were not of kin to them; but this man's task has been to support his own parents." So saying, he narrated to them the *Gijjhā-Jātaka* (No. 164)³⁵ or the story of the young Vulture on Vulture Hill that supported his parents.

Of another Brother who supported his mother, the Buddha asked: "Is it true that you support lay folk?" "Yes, Lord." "What are they?" "My father and mother, Lord." "Well done, well done, Brother: you keep up the rule of the wise men of old, for they too, even when born as beasts, gave their life for their parents." And the Buddha then narrates the *Nandīyamiga Jātaka* (No. 384), the story of a deer which, "being excellent in character and conduct," supported its father and mother.

The *Suka Jātaka* (No. 255) is the story of a Parrot that used to bring food oversea for his parents.

33. No. 588 in the Cambridge University Press translation (Ed. by Prof. E. H. Cowell).

34. *Mitthada, IV*, 8, 25 (trans. in *Sacred Books of the East*, II, 145).

35. No. 399 is another version of the same story.

"When sons bring meat to fathers in the wood,

Like ointment to the eye, 'tis very good" (Scholiast),

and the *Manoja Jātaka* (No. 397) is the story of a lion that supported its parents; while the *Cūla-Nandīya Jātaka* (No. 222) describes how two monkeys sacrificed their lives to save their mother from a cruel hunter.

Personal Service at Home.

Filial duty, however, meant more than mere support of one's parents; it meant also the obligation of daily personal service. In the *Kaṭāhaka Jātaka* (No. 125) we find Kaṭāhaka making a point of "proclaiming in public on all occasions his disapprobation of the lamentable decay of respect towards parents which shewed itself in children's sitting down to meals with their parents, instead of waiting upon them." "When my parents take their meals," says Kaṭāhaka, "I hand the plates and dishes, bring the spittoon, and fetch their fans for them. Such is my invariable practice."

In the *Kassapamandīya Jātaka* (No. 312) we find the Bodhisatta giving his father a bath, washing and anointing his feet and shampooing his back; while in the *Halidditragu Jātaka* (No. 435), when a woman tempts a young ascetic and requests him to come away with her, his reply is: "My father is gone into the forest. When he returns, I will ask his leave and then accompany you." She goes away, requesting him to follow later. After she leaves him, he neither fetches wood, nor brings water to drink, but just sits meditating; and when his father arrives, he does not go out to meet him. So the father asks: "Why, my son, did you neither fetch wood, nor bring me water to drink, nor food to eat?" the implication being that these were services or duties incumbent on the son.

The *Kaccāni Jātaka* (No. 417) was narrated by the Buddha in connection with a man who supported his mother. The circumstances which led to its narration are here reproduced *in extenso* since they have a special value for us, for they not only give interesting details of the kind of personal service children²⁶ had to render to their parents, but also afford an entertaining glimpse of the simple home-life as it obtained in India in the life-time of the Buddha some two thousand five hundred years ago.

The story²⁷ is that the man was of good family and conduct in Sāvattthi. On his father's death he became devoted to his mother and tended her with the services of mouth-washing, teeth-cleansing, bathing, feet-washing and the like, and also by giving her gruel, rice and other food. She said to him:

"Dear son, there are other duties in a householder's life: you must marry a maid of a suitable family, who will attend to me, and then you can do your proper work."

"Mother, it is for my own good and pleasure that I wait on you: who else would wait on you so well?"

"Son, you ought to do something to advance the fortune of our house."

"I have no care for a householder's life; I will wait on you, and after you are dead and burned I will become an ascetic."

She pressed him again and again; and at last, without winning him over or gaining his consent, she brought him a maid of a suitable family. He married and lived with her, because he would not oppose his mother. She observed the great attention with which her husband waited on his mother, and desirous of imitating it she too waited on her with care.

26. By which is meant "adults."

27. Reproduced from Vol. III, pp. 213-4 of the Cambridge University Press translation of *The Jātaka* under the editorship of Professor E. B. Cowell.

Noticing his wife's devotion, he gave her thenceforth all the pleasant food he could get. As time went on she foolishly thought in her pride :

"He gives me all the pleasant food he gets; he must be anxious to get rid of his mother and I will find some means for doing so."

So one day she said: "Husband, your mother scolds me when you leave the house." He said nothing.

She thought: "I will irritate the old woman and make her disagreeable to her son," and thenceforth she gave her rice-gruel either very hot or very cold or very salt or saltless.

When the old woman complained that it was too hot or too salt, she threw in cold water enough to fill the dish; and then on complaints of its being cold and saltless, she would make a great outcry: "Just now you said it was too hot and too salt: who can satisfy you?"

So at the bath she would throw very hot water on the old woman's back. When she said: "Daughter, my back is burning," the other would throw some very cold water on her, and on complaints of this, she would make a story to the neighbours: "This woman said just now it was too hot, now she screams: it is too cold: who can endure her impudence?"

If the old woman complained that her bed was full of fleas, she would take the bed out and shake her own bed over it and then bring it back declaring: "I've given it a shake." The good old lady, having twice as many fleas biting her now, would spend the night sitting up and complain of being bitten all night; the other would retort: "Your bed was shaken yesterday and the day before too; who can satisfy all such a woman's needs?"

To set the old woman's son against her, she would scatter phlegm and mucus and grey hairs here and there and when he asked who was making the whole house so dirty, she would say:

"Your mother does it, but if she is told not to do so, she makes an outcry. I can't stay in the same house with such an old witch; you must decide whether she stays or I."

He hearkened to her and said: "Wife, you are yet young and can get a living wherever you go, but my mother is weak and I am her stay; go and depart to your own home."

When she heard this, she was afraid and thought: "He cannot break with his mother who is so very dear to him, but if I go to my old home I shall have a miserable life of separation; I will conciliate my mother-in-law and tend her as of old." And thenceforth she did so.

One day that lay Brother went to Jetavana to hear the law. Saluting the Buddha he stood on one side. The Buddha asked him if he were not careless of his old duties, if he were dutiful in tending his mother. He answered: "Yes, Lord: my mother brought me a maid to wife against my will, she did such and such unseemly things," telling him all, "but the woman could not make me break with my mother, and now she tends her with all respect." Thereupon the Buddha related the *Kaccāni Jātaka*, a story similar in character to the one narrated above.

The Duty of Pleasing.

Filial devotion meant also readiness to please, to gratify any whim, caprice or desire on the part of a parent, and a case in point is to be found in the *Susīma Jātaka* (No. 411) where we find a King renouncing his kingship in order to gratify an unholy passion of his mother's. The story is not without other interest.

Once upon a time (runs the *Jātaka*), when Brahmadaṭṭa was reigning in Benares, the Bodhisatta²⁸ was conceived in the womb of his priest's chief wife. On the day of his birth the King also had a son born.

28. That is, the Buddha-to-be.

On the naming-day they called the great being *Susima-Kumāra*, and the King's son *Brahmadatta-Kumāra*. The King, seeing the two were born on the same day, had the *Bodhisatta* given to the nurse and brought up together with his own son.

They both grew up fair, like sons of gods; they both learned all sciences at *Takkasilā* and came home again. The prince became Viceroy, eating, drinking, and living along with the *Bodhisatta*. At his father's death he became King, giving great honour to the *Bodhisatta* and making him his priest.

One day he adorned the city, and decked like *Sakka*, king of gods, he went round the city in procession, seated on the shoulder of a royal elephant in his pride, equal to *Erāvana*,²⁰ with the *Bodhisatta* behind on the elephant's back.

The Queen-mother, looking out from the royal window to see her son, saw the priest behind him as he came back from the procession. She fell in love with him and, entering her chamber, thought: "If I cannot win him, I shall die here." So she left her food and lay there.

The King, not seeing her, asked after her. When he heard she was ill, he went to her, and asked with respect what ailed her. She would not tell for shame. He sat on the royal throne, and sent his own Chief Queen to find what ailed his mother. She went and asked, stroking the Queen-mother's back.²¹

Women do not hide secrets from women, and the secret was told. The Queen went and told the King. He said: "Well, go and comfort her: I will make the priest King and make her his Chief-Queen." She went and comforted her.

The King sent for the priest and told him the matter: "Friend, save my mother's life: Thou shalt be King, she thy Chief Queen, I viceroy."

The priest said: "It cannot be," but being asked again, he consented; and the King made the priest King, the Queen-mother Chief Queen, and himself viceroy. They lived all in harmony together.²¹.....

Admonition of Parents Sinful.

The admonition of one's parents, even in case where the latter were obviously in error or acting wrongly, formed no part of a son's duty; on the contrary, such action was held to be highly disrespectful, even sinful. A gentle hint or indication of such error was permitted, but it had to be undertaken with the greatest circumspection and in the most reverential spirit, having regard to the ever-present obligation to avoid giving them the slightest offence or displeasure.

In the *Sujāta Jātaka* (No. 269), we are told that the *Bodhisatta*'s mother was "a passionate woman, cruel, harsh, shrewish, ill-tongued. The son wished to admonish his mother; but he felt he must not do anything so disrespectful; so he kept on the look-out for a chance of dropping a hint." And this is how he succeeded in admonishing her without violating his filial duty.

One day he went down into the grounds, and his mother went with him. A blue jay screeched on the road. At this all the courtiers stopped their ears, crying:

"What a harsh voice, what a shriek!—don't make that noise!"

20. *Sakka's* elephant.

21. *Tassi* is, in loving persuasion.

21. The sequel to the story is that, later, the *Bodhisatta* tired of the householder's life, sent for his friend and made him take the kingdom again and himself became an ascetic sage in the *Himālaya*. For he realised that

Delight in layman's life is a weak stay
The wise man cuts it off and goes his way,
Renouncing joys of sense and all their way.

While the Bodhisatta was walking through the park with his mother, and a company of players, a cuckoo, perched amid the thick leaves of a *sāl*³³ tree, sang with a sweet note. All the bystanders were delighted at her voice; clapping their hands, and stretching them out, they besought her—"Oh, what a soft voice, what a kind voice, what a gentle voice!—sing away, birdie, sing away!", and there they stood, stretching their necks, eagerly listening.

The Bodhisatta, noting these two things, thought that here was a chance to drop a hint to the Queen-mother.

"Mother," said he, "when they heard the jay's cry on the road, every body stopped their ears, and called out: 'Don't make that noise! don't make that noise!' and stopped up their ears; for harsh sounds are liked by nobody." And he repeated the following stanzas:—

"Those who are dowered with a lovely hue,
Though ne'er so fair and beautiful to view,
Yet if they have a voice all harsh to hear,
Neither in this world nor the next are dear.

"There is a bird that you may often see;
Ill-favoured, black, and speckled though it be,
Yet its soft voice is pleasant to the ear:
How many creatures hold the cuckoo dear!

"Therefore your voice should gentle be and sweet,
Wise-speaking, not puffed up with self-conceit,
And such a voice—how sweet the sound of it!—
Explains the meaning of the Holy Writ."³⁴

"Honour thy father and thy mother" is the Christian commandment and the Christian world today keeps or observes the commandment in a way which would have horrified the ancient heathen East. By this it is not meant that the commandment is generally neglected. What is meant is that the Ancient East "worshipped" those whom we merely "honour" today, and who will deny that this "honour" is not casual, slight, and, comparatively speaking, vulgarly familiar or familiarly vulgar? It is perhaps an inevitable result of the conditions of modern life.

However that may be, to the modern Sinhalese whose mode of life still bears traces of being governed by the Laws of Manu, the words of one of their greatest kings still bear a significance and an appeal: "Is it not the duty of sons, like as we are," asked Parākrama Bāhu the Great on an historic occasion, "both to live without causing displeasure to their aged parents and to defend them from danger that might arise from others, and to minister unto them carefully all the days of our lives"?³⁵

33. *Jāṭaka* (Robust).

34. The last stanza (says Rouse, the translator) comes from *Dhammapadam*, V, 383, not quoted word for word, but adapted to the context.

35. *Mahāvamsa* Ch. LXXV. 14-15.

THE PETA-VATTHU.¹

By DR. HENRY S. GEHMAN.

THE *Peta-Vatthu* is one of the Buddhistic works written in Pali, a language akin to Sanskrit. The Buddhist scriptures called the *Tipitaka* consist of three parts: one of these divisions, the *Suttapitaka*, consists of five parts, one of which is called the *Khuddakavagga*, which in turn is subdivided into fifteen sections. The *Peta-Vatthu* constitutes one of these last divisions.

The name *Peta-Vatthu* means the story of the departed or the spirits of the dead. Pali *peta* is Sanskrit *preta* from the root *i* 'to go' with the suffix *pra*; the word means therefore, 'having gone forward,' or in other words, 'having passed from this world to the next'; hence the departed or the spirits of the dead. The term corresponds to the Latin *manes*. The word consequently means literally the spirit of the departed, either good or bad. In the work under consideration, however, it is specialized to mean only the evil spirits, while the good spirits are called *yakkhas*.

Many of us as children may have heard our grand-parents tell about ghosts who had to haunt a certain region for an indefinite time until released, as a punishment for a particular offence. The reader will observe many similarities between the *petas* and the ghosts of the stories told by our forefathers. Many of the *petas* suffer hunger and thirst; their aspect is revolting or awakens pity; many are naked, emaciated, or they are filthy, or they are covered with flies. Many are punished by enduring a fate similar to that which they planned or inflicted upon others. They are wont to get filth as food, and they generally suffer remorse for their past deeds and thus constitute a warning to their kinsmen whom they visit.

They appear for the most part unto men at twilight or at night. In the fireside ghost stories we were told that the spirits generally visit the places where they formerly lived or had their activities. We find that the *petas* likewise usually frequent their old homes or they wait at the walls or near the city or at the cross-roads so that men may see them and help them.

The *petas* have retained their human characteristics. They remember their previous existence and deeds; they have not lost their human emotions, they have the gift of speech and weep and lament like living people.

As regards the time limit of the punishment or suffering nothing definite is given. That probably depends upon the nature of the offence and the success they have in inducing their relatives to help them. Among all nations it was an accepted belief that the *manes* depended for their existence upon the food and drink offerings of their kinsmen. That is why sons were preferable to daughters, because the head of the household was the

1. [Note by the Editors, *Ceylon Antiquary*].—The present contribution represents the first of the four books of the *Peta-Vatthu* which is now being translated into English from the Pali by the Rev. Henry S. Gehman, Ph. D., of the University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, U.S.A. Dr. Gehman, to whom we are much indebted for his kindness in sending his translation to us in the first instance and who, by the way, is our first contributor from America, has very generously undertaken to send us the translation of the remaining three books as well, and these will be published in subsequent issues of the *Ceylon Antiquary*.]

priest of the *manes* cult. The *petas* also desired direct offerings because they suffered hunger and thirst; this would not, however, alleviate their spiritual condition or grant them the desired release. We find accordingly that one could give a gift to a monk, to the Buddha, or to the church and ascribe the virtue of the gift to the *peta*. This transferred credit gave the spirit the desired release, temporary or permanent.

The *petas* live in the *paraloka* or the spirit world. We must not identify the punishment of the *petas* with the torment of hell. Generally speaking no attempt has been made to localize the abode of the *petas*; the only thing that concerned the Hindu was the fact that some one had died and that *petas* were in torment and appeared at various times to men. We could hardly expect a definite locality for the spirit world to be thought out in a series of popular stories of unknown and of various authorship. How many Christian believers of the present day have a clear idea of the state of the soul between death and the judgment day?

The Buddhists believe in metempsychosis and teach that there are five *gatis* or states of existence into which a being may be reborn at death; they are hell, animals, the *peta*-world, men, and the *devas* or gods. The Buddhist hell is a place of torment in which former sins are expiated, but it is nevertheless only a temporary state which may be immediately followed by rebirth into a blissful state. The torment in hell was considered a far greater punishment than existence in the *peta*-world. In the round of the *samsāra* or transmigration the *petas* could, through the help of their friends, be born into a higher and better state; or the very wicked ones were reborn in hell.

In the *Peta-Vatthu* we see that the Buddhists believe in retribution: as the deed, so the consequence: (Cf. *Peta-Vatthu* III, 1, 20).

sukham akatapunnānam idha natthi

parattha ca

sukhañ ca katapunñānam idha o'eva

parattha ca

"For those who have not done good deeds, there is joy neither in this world nor in the next; but for those who have performed meritorious works, there is happiness both even in this world and in the next."

For those interested in comparative religion or in the study of folk-lore, we submit the *Peta-Vatthu* for the first time translated into English.

THE PETA-VATTHU.

THE STORIES OF THE PETAS.

Hail unto the reverend Arhat, the perfectly enlightened one.

I.

The Peta Story of the Likeness to Fields.

1. Like unto fields are the Arhats (the saints); the givers are like unto farmers; resembling seed is the virtue of the offering; from this is produced fruit.

2. This seed and cultivated field are for the departed and the giver. This the departed enjoy; the giver increases through the pious act.

3. For doing a meritorious act right here on earth and honoring the departed, to heaven indeed he goes as his station, since he has done a good deed.

II.

The Peta Story of the Boar.*(Dialogue between Nārada and a Peta.)*

Nārada. 1. Your body, golden all over, illuminates all the regions ; but your mouth is simply that of a boar. What deed have you done in your previous existence ?

Peta. 2. My body I subdued ; my speech I did not restrain. Therefore I have such an appearance as you see, Nārada.

3. So, Nārada, I myself tell you this which you see for yourself. Do not commit evil with your mouth, lest you become boar-mouthed.

III.

The Peta Story of the Putrid Mouth.*(Dialogue between Nārada and a Peta.)*

Nārada. 1. You have a beautiful, celestial complexion ; in the air you are standing, yea in heaven. Yet worms are devouring your mouth which has a putrid odor ; what act did you commit in your previous existence ?

Peta. 2. A monk I was, wicked and of harsh speech ; though in the form of a mendicant, I was unrestrained with my mouth ; I obtained, to be sure, with austerity my complexion, but also a putrid mouth on account of my slander.

3. Now this has been seen by yourself, Nārada. They who are compassionate and virtuous would say : " Do not backbite nor speak falsely. Then you shall become a pleasure-enjoying Yakkha."

IV.

The Peta Story of the Broken Doll.

(According to the frame-story the Buddha spoke the following stanzas at the house of Anāthapiṇḍika when the little daughter of the house was crying about a broken doll.)

1. For whatever cause the liberal one should give a gift to the forefathers and the departed or also to the gods of the homestead ;

2. And to the four great kings, the celebrated guardians of the world, Kuvera, Dhatarattha, Virūpakka, and Virūhaka ; with this forsooth they all are honored and the bestowers are not without reward.

3. For neither weeping nor grief or any other lamentation are of any avail ; nor is this a help to the departed person. Such a practice have the kinsmen.

4. But indeed this gift which is given and well established in the church, for a long time necessarily serves for the benefit of the departed.

V.

The Peta Story of " Outside the Wall."

1. They stand outside the walls and at the street corners and at the cross-roads ; they are standing at the door-posts, having arrived at their own house.

2. Although abundant food and drink and hard and soft viands are served, not does any one remember these beings on account of their (former) deeds.

3. They who are compassionate give their kinsmen at the proper time pure, excellent, and acceptable food and drink, with the words : " Let this be for you, kinsmen ; let the relatives be blessed."

4. And these coming together there, the departed spirits of the kinsmen having assembled, greatly rejoice at the abundant food and drink, saying:

5. "Long live our kinsmen through whom we receive gifts. An offering is made to us and the givers are not without reward."

6. For there is no agriculture in that place nor is cowherding found there; nor is there trading there as here, no commerce with gold.

7. With gifts from here the *petas*, the dead in the other world, maintain themselves. As water rained on a height flows down to the low ground, even so the gift from here profits the *petas*.

8. Just as full streams fill the ocean, even so the gift from here profits the *Petas*.

9. (The *Petas* say): Of my relatives, friends, and companions, each one did me good. May each one give gifts to the *Petas*, remembering what was done in their previous existence."

10. For neither weeping nor grief or any other lamentation are of any avail; nor is this a help to the departed person. Such a practice have the kinsmen.

11. But this gift which is given and well established in the church for a long time serves as a benefit of the departed.

12. And this is the duty of kinsmen above set forth; for the *petas* also an excellent offering has been made and power bestowed upon the mendicants. No little good has been sought by you.

VI.

The Peta Story of the Devourer of Five Sons.

(Conversation between a *Thera* (monk) and a *Peti*,²)

Thera. 1. You are naked and ugly in form; an ill-smelling and putrid odor you breathe forth; you are all covered with flies as it were. Now who are you that exist in this condition?

Peti. 2. I, venerable sir, am a *Peti*, the wretched Yamalokika. Since I had done a wicked deed, I went from here to the world of the *Petas*.

3. At daybreak I give birth to five sons, in the evening again to five others, all of whom I devour; even these are not enough for me.

4. My head is scorched and smokes with hunger; I do not receive any water to drink. Behold the misfortune which has come upon me.

Thera. 5. Now what sin has been committed by your body, speech, and mind? In retribution of what deed do you devour the flesh of children?

Peti. 6. The other wife of my husband was pregnant, and I devised evil against her; I myself with a corrupt spirit caused the fall of her foetus.

7. Her foetus, two months old, was nothing but blood and trickled from her. Then her mother in anger brought her relatives to me. And she both administered an oath to me and had me reviled.

8. I for my part took the terrible oath falsely: "May I eat the flesh of children if it was done by me."

9. In consequence of both the deed and the perjury, I eat the flesh of children, since I am stained with the blood of my former existence.

2. *Peti* is the feminine of *Peta*.

VII.

The Peta Story of the Devourer of Seven Sons.

Thera. 1. You are naked and ugly in form; an ill-smelling and putrid odor you breathe forth. You are all covered with flies as it were. Now who are you that exist in this condition?

Peti. 2. I, reverend sir, am a *Peti*, the unfortunate Yamalokikā. Since I had committed an evil deed, I went from here to the *Peta*-world.

3. At daybreak I give birth to seven children, in the evening again to seven others, all of whom I devour. Even these are not enough for me.

4. My heart is scorched and smokes with hunger; I do not attain serenity of mind. As though burnt with fire, I suffer torture.

Thera. 5. Now what sin was committed with your body, speech, and mind? In consequence of what deed do you devour the flesh of children?

Peti. 6. I had two sons; both had attained adolescence. And having experienced the strength of the youths, I despised my husband.

7. Then my husband was angry and married another wife. And when she became pregnant, I meditated evil against her.

8. And I with a corrupt spirit caused the fall of her foetus. Her three-month old foetus fell, foul and bloody.

9. Then her mother in anger brought her relatives to me. And she administered an oath to me and had me reviled. I for my part took the terrible oath falsely: "May I eat the flesh of children if it was done by me."

10. In consequence of both the deed and the perjury, I eat the flesh of children, since I am stained with the blood of my former existence.

VIII.

The Peta Story of the Ox.

Father. 1. Why now, appearing like a mad man, do you cut the green grass and mutter to an old ox whose life is gone, "Eat, eat."

2. For not by means of food and drink would a dead ox rise. You are childish and simple-minded, just as others too are foolish.

Son. 3. These feet, this head, this body with the tail, the eyes likewise are here. Let this ox get up.

4. You do not see the hands and feet, body and head of my grandfather. Now are you not foolish for weeping upon the mount of earth?

Father. 5. Verily I was glowing, being like a fire over which ghee had been poured. Now sprinkled as with water, I make an end of all my pain.

6. You who drove away from me, half dead with grief, the sorrow for my father, you removed indeed from me the pain, the gloom that resided in my heart.

7. Now I laid aside my grief in this matter and am calm and serene. I do not mourn, I do not weep, having heard you, my boy.

8. So do the wise who are compassionate. They divert us from grief just as Sujāta did his father.

IX.

The Peta Story of the Stingy Wife.

A conversation between a Bhikkhu (mendicant) and a Devaputta (the son of a god) concerning the latter's former wife.

Bhikkhu. 1. She partakes of excrement, urine, blood, and pus; of what is this the punishment? Now what deed has this woman done who is always eating blood and pus?

2. New and lustrous, forsooth, soft, white, and woolly are the clothes which are given her, but they become various metal plates. What deed now has this woman done?

Devaputta. 3. This was my wife, venerable one; she was not disposed to give, niggardly and stingy was she. When I gave to the mendicants and Brahmans, she abused and censured me, saying:

4. "Excrement, urine, blood, and pus, filth you shall eat for all time. Let that be your lot in the other world, and your clothes shall be like metal plates." Since she has committed such a sin, upon her arrival here, she shall for a long time eat that filth.

X.

The Peta Story of the Bald-headed¹ Woman.

A conversation between a Vimānapeti (a Peta dwelling in a magical palace) upon an island in the ocean and merchants who had been wrecked there.

Merchant. 1. Who now are you, staying in the palace? You do not come out. Come out, my dear; let us see you with your miraculous power.

Peti. 2. I am tormented; I am ashamed to come out naked; with my hair I am covered. By me little good was done.

Merchant. 3. Come, I give you a cloak; put on this garment; don this tunic and come out, beautiful one. Come out, my dear. Let us see you, supernatural one.

Peti. 4. What is given by your hand into mine does not profit me. But here is this faithful disciple, a pupil of the truly enlightened one.

5. Having dressed this man, transfer to me the merit; then I shall be blest, flourishing in all pleasure.

Narrative. 6. After the traders had bathed and anointed him, they clothed him with the garment and transferred to her the virtue of the gift.

7. Immediately after this was beheld, the result was produced; this was the fruit of her gift, food, clothes, and drink.

8. Thereupon pure, having clean clothes, wearing the best Benares cloth, smiling, she came out of the palace, saying: "This is the fruit of your gift."

Merchant. 9. Your palace appears very variegated and shines brilliantly. Goddess, in reply to our questions, tell us of what deed this is the result:

Peti. 10. To a wandering mendicant, an upright one, I with a serene mind gave a dish full of seeds with sesame oil.

11. For this good deed I receive as a reward a long time in the palace, but now only a brief period remains to me.

12. After four months shall be my death; down to the exceedingly severe and terrible hell I shall fall.

¹ According to the frame-story an enemy once poured a mixture over the head of this woman while she was taking her bath. Consequently all her hair fell out, but it was restored in her peta-existence.

13. It is four-cornered and has four doors; it is divided into parts by measure; it is surrounded by an iron fence, and is covered on the top with iron.

14. Its iron floor is glowing with heat. Flashing on all sides for a hundred *yojanas*, it exists for all time.

15. There for a long time I shall experience grievous pain and the fruit of evil deeds. Therefore I mourn this fact.

XI.

The Elephant Peta Story.

Conversation between the Monk Samkicca and a Peta Family.

Monk. 1. Leading the way, forsooth, one goes on a white elephant, but in the middle, one is in a car drawn by she-mules; and at the very end a young woman, who entirely illuminates the ten regions, is carried in a litter.

2. But you people with mallets in your hands, having sad faces and split and broken bodies, you human beings, what evil have you done? On account of what do you drink each other's blood?

Petas. 3. He who goes at the very head on the white elephant, the four-footed beast, was our son; he was the eldest child. Because he gave gifts, he now rejoices happily.

4. He who is in the middle on the wagon drawn by the she-mules, in the swift-going car, yoked to four, was our second child. As an unselfish and noble giver he shines.

5. She who is carried behind in a litter, a lady, wise, having the sluggish eye of the doe, was our daughter; she was the youngest child. Happy with half her portion, she rejoices.

6. And these with tranquil minds in their previous existence gave gifts to the ascetics and the Brahmins. But we were niggardly and abused the ascetics and the Brahmins. Since they gave gifts, they roam about and we waste away like a reed cut down.

Monk. 7. What kind of food do you have? What kind of a bed? How do you maintain yourselves, you great sinners, who, while food is abundant and plenty, have lost happiness and to-day have obtained sorrow?

Petas. 8. We strike each other and drink pus and blood. Although we have drunk much, we are not satiated, our thirst is not appeased.

9. Just so lament unbestowing mortals who after death are in the abode of Yama; having discerned and attained food, they neither enjoy it nor do good with it.

10. Suffering hunger and thirst in another world, the departed spirits for a long time lament, since they are in torment. Because they have done deeds of grievous consequence, they receive sorrow as their bitter fruits.

11. For momentary are wealth and property; fleeting is the life here on earth; knowing transitoriness from the transitory, let the wise man prepare a resting place.

12. All men who are acquainted with the moral law and have this knowledge, do not neglect gifts after they have heard the words of the saints.

XII.

The Snake Peta Story.

Sakka, the Bodhisatta, returns and asks his survivors why they do not mourn. In answer to his questions, his father, mother, sister, wife, and maid-servant respectively reply as follows:

Brahman (Father) 1. Just as the serpent that has cast aside its old skin, comes to a form that is its own, so also it is when the body is deprived of enjoyment and when the deceased has fulfilled his time.

2. He who is being burnt does not perceive the lamentation of his kinsmen; therefore I do not bewail him; he has gone his course.

Brahmani (Mother) 3. Uncalled he came from there, without our sanction he has gone from here. As he came, so he went. Now what's the use of lamenting?

4. He who is being burnt does not perceive the lamentation of his kinsmen; therefore I do not bewail him; he has gone his course.

Sister. 5. If I should weep, I would become thin. What reward would there be for me? We should have more dislike for our kinsmen, companions, and friends.

6. He who is being burnt does not perceive the lamentation of his kinsmen; therefore I do not bewail him; he has gone his course.

Wife. 7. Just as an infant cries for the moon when it disappears, so that very same thing does he who mourns for the departed.

8. He who is being burnt does not perceive the lamentation of his kinsmen; therefore I do not bewail him; he has gone his course.

Maid-Servant. 9. Just as in the case of a Brahman a broken water-pot is not restored, so that very same vain effort makes he who bewails the departed.

10. He who is being burnt does not perceive the lamentation of his kinsmen; therefore I do not bewail him; he has gone his course.

END OF BOOK ONE.

(To be Continued)



HEGEL'S PHILOSOPHY OF FINE ART.

By W. T. STACE, C.C.S.

OWING to the fact that it dwells considerably upon Oriental world-conceptions in the spheres of art, religion, and philosophy, the following account of part of Hegel's doctrine of aesthetics may be of interest to readers of the *Ceylon Antiquary*. I am afraid that a few passages are extremely technical and can be intelligible only to professed students of Hegel. And it is impossible to avoid this or to explain the technicalities popularly. But I think the general reader will be able to gather the drift of the whole, as also some interesting special points of view.

Hegel's aesthetics falls into three parts, (1) the general notion of art, (2) the generic types of art, (3) the specific arts, i.e., architecture, sculpture, painting, music, and poetry. The following account embraces only the first two of these divisions, space forbidding the consideration of the particular arts. It is necessarily, moreover, cursory and compressed, for the reason that Hegel's work on art occupies no less than four volumes of four hundred pages each. I have also omitted all consideration of the beauty of Nature, and confined myself to the theory of Art.

Section I.

Art in General.

There are, according to Hegel, three modes under which the mind apprehends the Absolute, namely art, religion, and philosophy. Of these art is the lowest and least adequate, philosophy the highest and only completely adequate mode. Religion is intermediate.

The first mode in which the mind apprehends the Absolute must be, in accordance with Hegelian general principles, in its *immediacy*. Since the substance of all these modes is the same, viz. the Absolute itself, this immediacy must attach to the *form* under which it is apprehended. At first, therefore, the Absolute will be manifested under the guise of immediacy, that is to say, under the guise of external sense-objects. The shining of the Absolute, or the Idea, through the veils of the sense-world—this is the definition of *beauty*. It is essential to the idea of the beautiful that it should be a sensuous object, an actual thing present to the senses, as a statue, a building, or the beautiful sound of music, or at least that it should be the mental image of a sensuous object, as in poetry. It must be individual and concrete. It cannot be an abstraction. The beautiful object thus addresses itself to the senses. But it also addresses itself to the mind or spirit. For a mere sensuous existence, as such, is not beautiful. Only when the mind perceives the Idea shining through it, is it beautiful.

Since the Idea is the absolute Truth it follows that truth and beauty are identical. For both are the Idea. But they are also distinct. Beauty is the Idea seen in a sensuous form, apprehended, in Nature or art, by the senses. Truth is the Idea seen as it is in itself, i.e. as pure thought. It is apprehended as such, not by the senses, but by pure thought itself, i.e. by philosophy.

Now the question arises, how can the Idea, or the Absolute, manifest itself in a sensuous object? One must recollect here the account of the Idea given in the Logic. The Notion, as such, is not yet the Idea. The Notion is subjectivity. The Idea is the concrete unity of the Notion with the object, i.e. it is the unity of subjectivity and objectivity. Now when we have an object which we perceive to be constituted as a multiplicity comprehended in a unity, in such a case the factor of unity is the side of subjectivity, or the Notion, while the factor of plurality is the side of objectivity. Such an object, therefore, because it manifests the Idea in objective and sensuous form, is beautiful. It is not, however, merely a mechanical unity which is here required, but an organic unity. The different parts of the object are so related that they are not a mere aggregate, like a heap of stones. In such an aggregate the parts are indifferent to one another. If they are separated from the unity, from the aggregate, they undergo thereby no loss, but remain precisely what they were before. In an organic unity, on the contrary, the parts have no meaning except as members of the whole. And the unity, on the other hand, has no meaning or even existence apart from the members in which it is manifested. The beautiful object, e.g. the work of art, is essentially an organism.

What are above all necessary for the exhibition of true beauty are *infinitude* and *freedom*. This is involved in the notion of organism. The organism is both infinite and free, for it is essentially self-determined. It is for this reason that it manifests the Idea. The Idea is absolutely infinite. It is constituted by (1) the Unity or Notion, which puts itself forth into (2) differences, plurality, objectivity, which again return into (3) the concrete unity of the above two factors, i.e. of the Notion or subjective unity and objective plurality. Now what is essential here is that it is the Notion *itself* which puts itself forth into differences and then overreaches the distinctions which it has thus created within itself. Its entire development is a development out of its own resources. It is thus wholly self-determined, infinite, and free. Hence the beautiful object, if it is truly to manifest the Idea, must itself be infinite and free. It must, as an organism, evolve all its differences out of itself. They must be seen to proceed out of the ideal unity which is its soul.

Every work of art therefore presents two distinct sides, which are, however, bound together in unity. These are (1) the side of unity. The unity is the Notion before it has issued forth into plurality and objectivity. The Notion, however, is *subjectivity*. This side of the work of art is, therefore, essentially of a subjective nature. It is the spiritual meaning, the inner significance, the soul (subjectivity) of the work of art. It may be called in general the *spiritual content*, or simply the content, of the work of art. This unity, however, does not remain an abstract unity closed up in itself. It manifests itself in (2) the plurality of differences. This is the objective, sensuous, material, side of the work of art, and may be called in general the *material embodiment* or *form*. In architecture this material embodiment is crass matter, stone; in painting, colour or light; in music, sound; in poetry, mental image. These two sides do not fall apart but are bound together in unity. When we have the Idea thus completely embodied in a material form we have art.

Since the work of art is to be infinite, free, and self-determined, it will exclude from its material side whatever exists in pure externality and contingency, whatever, in fact, cannot be shown as wholly issuing out of, and determined by, the inner unity or spiritual content. Thus in portrait painting such pure externalities as warts on the skin, scars, pores, pimples, etc., will be left out. For these do not exhibit anything of the inner soul, the subjectivity which

has to appear in manifestation. Art does not slavishly imitate Nature. On the contrary, it is just this pure externality and meaningless contingency of Nature that it has to get rid of. In so far as it takes natural objects as its subject-matter at all, its function is to divest them of the unessential, soulless, crass concatenation of contingencies and externalities which surround them and obscure their meaning, and to exhibit solely those traits which manifest the inner soul or unity.

And if the function of art is not the imitation of Nature, neither does it consist in moral instruction. To use art as means of instruction is to do violence to the infinity which we have seen to be essential to it. For only that which is an end in itself is infinite. That which is made a means to a further end outside itself, is thereby subordinated to, and determined by, that exterior end. It is, thereby, neither infinite nor free. Art, as self-determined, is an end in itself.

It is for the same reason, viz. the freedom and infinity of art, that the artist so frequently takes his subject matter from a past age, and preferably from what is called the *heroic age*. A highly civilized age is not the most suitable subject matter for art. In epic and dramatic poetry, for example, it is necessary that the characters should appear essentially free and self-determined. They must be independent beings, whose entire activities issue out of themselves, and are not imposed upon them from outside. But in a highly organized state human activities are determined by custom, law, institutions, and in general the pressure of organized society. Herein man appears unfree. By the *heroic age* is meant that age in which great independent characters were still possible. What they did they did solely out of the resources of their own natures. A loosely knit state of society, where everyman is his own master, and where none have yet become mere cogs in the machine of the civilized state, is best suited to exhibit such self-determined freedom and independence. The heroes of the *Iliad*, Achilles, Ajax, and the rest, are only nominally subject to the leadership of Agamemnon. They are, in fact, their own masters. They come and go as they please, fight or not as they please. Achilles, conceiving himself insulted, withdraws in wrath from the fight. Agamemnon never thinks of commanding. He can at most attempt to persuade. A similar state of society existed in feudal Europe, where the Knights, nominally subject to the King, did in fact whatever they pleased.

Hegel does not, of course, force this idea too far. He does not urge—what is manifestly untrue—that the artist *cannot* choose modern subjects, but only that the difficulties are in such subjects far greater,—for the reasons given. It is for the same reason that art prefers the order of *princes*, not out of snobbishness, but because they exhibit freedom. They are under no control save their own.

The heroes of ancient epic make their own tools and weapons, prepare their own food. These things are not thrust upon them *from the outside* but are the result of the acts of their own wills, and therefore manifest their freedom. The hero slays his own food, lives upon honey, cheese, milk. Such beverages as tea, coffee, brandy, etc., are prosaic because they remind us of the complicated chain of processes necessary to bring them to our lips, in a word, *because they remind us of the conditions of unfreedom*.

Where art depicts its characters as subject to pain, suffering, and disaster, it will nevertheless never exhibit them as wholly overwhelmed thereby. Their essential liberty and freedom must not be crushed out of existence. It may be, as in tragedy, that the conflict ends in the destruction of the mere physical lives of the characters,—but not in the destruction of

their spiritual freedom. They remain true to themselves and to their essential being. They accept their fate as itself a necessary outcome of their own actions, and therefore as issuing from their own free will.

The spiritual content of a work of art is everywhere the Absolute, and therefore, *thought*, or the *universal*. Hence what is absolutely particular, contingent, or capricious will find no place in it. Where it is human life that is depicted, it will be the essential, universal, rational interests of humanity that will form its substance—the core of human life, the moving forces of the spirit. Such are the interests of the family, love, the state, society, morality, and so on. But these will not appear as abstract universals, for in art all must be individual and concrete. They will appear, therefore, in immediacy, as the essentially rational emotions, such as the love of parents and children, loyalty, devotion to honour—the universal emotions of our common humanity. Mere individual idiosyncracies and caprices fail to move us. Mere wickedness, again, cannot be made the substantive core of a work of art. For wickedness as such is simply absolute particularity—the non-universal. Milton's Satan is only possible because he retains noble traits, is moved by essentially rational impulses, though misdirected. Mere evil, as such, is prosaic.

For the reason that they are rational and universal, these moving forces of humanity are essentially *justifiable*. Nevertheless they may come into collision. In tragedy we have the collision of two such eternal principles, each of which is, on its own part, right and just. Thus in the *Antigone* of Sophocles, Creon the King decrees that the body of the son of Oedipus should remain unburied because he had proved a traitor to his country. Antigone, however, cannot leave the body of her brother unburied, and so violates the decree of Creon. Out of this collision of ethical forces the tragedy arises. For the decree of Creon is right and ethical inasmuch as it embodies care for the weal of the whole city. But the impulse of Antigone, the love of her brother, is also essentially rational and right, since it issues from a rational institution, the family.

Section 2.

The Types of Art.

In accordance with the fundamental notion of beauty, every work of art has two sides, which are respectively,

- (1) The spiritual content.
- (2) The material embodiment, or form.

Beauty is the vision of the Absolute shining through a sensuous medium. The Absolute which thus shines through is the spiritual content. The sensuous medium through which it shines is the material embodiment. Now the nature of the Absolute may be variously described, as subject, as spirit, as reason, as thought, as the universal. The spiritual content may, therefore, be of various kinds. It may consist in the conception, prevalent in any age or nation, of the absolute being,—the fundamental religious concepts of a race. It may be constituted by any general idea of a spiritual kind. It may be the activity of those universal forces, love, honour, duty, which sway the human heart. It may be any thought, other than a mere idiosyncrasy or caprice, anything, that is to say, which is substantive and essential and which forms a part of the inner subjectivity and soul-life of man. All that is necessary is that it should be capable of acting as a focal centre of unity which displays itself in and permeates each and

every part of the material embodiment. For the control of all the parts of the work of art under a single central unity, so that the whole forms an organic being, in which the unity is as the soul and the plurality of the material embodiment is as the body—this is what we saw to be necessary for the manifestation of the Idea in a sensuous medium.

In an ideal work of art these two sides, content and embodiment, are in perfect accord and union, so that the embodiment constitutes the full and complete expression of the content, whereas the content, on its part, could find no other than this very embodiment as adequate expression for it. But this perfect accord and union are not always attained. And the different possible relations which content and form bear to one another give us the division of art into its fundamental types. These are three in number:—

(1) Matter (embodiment) predominates over spirit (content). The spiritual content here struggles to find its adequate expression, but fails to do so. It fails clearly to shine through. It has not mastered its medium. It is overwhelmed by masses of matter. This gives us the Symbolic Type of Art.

(2) The perfect balance and union of spirit and matter. This gives us the Classical Type of Art.

(3) The spirit predominates over the matter. This gives us the Romantic Type of Art.

This development of art through its three phases is fundamentally a *notional*, i.e., a logical development, which, as such, has no connection with time or place. Nevertheless history shows that the actual evolution of art in the world has to a large extent followed the notional development. On the whole the earliest and crudest art is symbolic, modern art is romantic, while in the intermediate ages we have classical art. But this cannot be pressed too far. All the types of art exist in all ages. Again, the different types are especially associated with different peoples. The art of Oriental peoples, mainly the Egyptians and Hindus, is predominantly symbolic. That of the Greeks was classical. That of modern Europe is romantic. But here again, all the types exist, to a greater or less extent, among all peoples. Lastly, the three types are associated with specific arts. Architecture is the symbolic art *par excellence*, sculpture the classical, painting, music, and poetry the romantic. Yet classical and romantic architecture are widespread and important. There is such a thing as romantic sculpture. And traces of symbolism are to be found everywhere in painting and poetry.

Sub-Section 1.

The Symbolic Type of Art.

In symbolic art the human mind struggles to express its spiritual ideas but is unable to find an adequate embodiment. It is for this reason that it adopts the symbol as its instrument. The essence of a symbol is that it *suggests* a meaning, but does not *express* it. A lion may be taken as the symbol of strength, a triangle of the Triune God. The symbol is always a material thing. That which it symbolizes is some thought or spiritual significance. Thus in this type of art the symbol constitutes the material embodiment, while its significance is the content. The symbol, in order to be a symbol, must possess some trait of *affinity* with its significance, e.g. the three sides of the triangle with the threeness of the Godhead. But it must also be *different* from the significance, otherwise it ceases to be a mere symbol and becomes a genuine mode of expression. Thus the lion has many other qualities than strength, and might equally be made to symbolize any of these. For this reason a symbol is always *ambiguous*.

It is a mystery to all save the initiated. The triangle may be the symbol of God. But it may equally be a symbol for the Delta of the Nile, and so for fertility. This ambiguity of the symbol, by reason of which it fails truly to express its meaning, explains the sense of mystery which overhangs all symbolic art, especially that of Egypt. It is a paradise of riddles and problems. And this fact renders symbolism suitable to the early ages of undeveloped humanity which have failed to solve the problems of the spirit. It serves to express the fact that, for its creators, the world is an insoluble enigma.

Since the work of art involves the two sides, (1) the Absolute or the content, and (2) the phenomenal and material forms of the embodiment, it is obvious that there can be no art so long as the human mind has in no way recognized the *difference* between the two sides and their *separation* from one another. The demand of art is that the two sides should be brought together in a unity. Such a demand presupposes, first of all, their separation. Hence among those primitive peoples who have never yet made the distinction between Absolute and phenomenon, art does not exist. Thus the ancient Zend people worshipped Light as God. They did not, however, take Light merely as the symbol of God. On the contrary, they regarded Light itself, in its immediate physical presence, as *being* God. God, for them, was simply the physical substance Light. But Light is itself a physical phenomenon. These people, therefore, made no distinction between the Absolute, or spiritual, and the phenomenal, or material. They had consequently no art.

The realisation of the separation between the Absolute and the phenomenal world, which is thus essential if art is to exist, may, however, be either conscious or unconscious. It may be vaguely felt but not clearly brought before consciousness. Or it may be clearly understood and deliberately expressed. Among the ancient Hindus the separation was vaguely felt, but not grasped. The two sides were not held fast in their separation. At one moment they were kept apart, at another plunged together again. At one moment the separation is made so absolute that God, under the name of Brahman, is conceived in utter abstraction from the world, as the formless One, empty Being, of whom nothing whatever can be predicated, who is so completely severed from the world as to be entirely beyond the range of sense or even of thought. At another time the two sides are utterly confounded together, plunged into each other in hopeless riot and confusion. From this latter point of view any object of sense whatever is confounded with the Divine. The cow, the ape, the serpent, are worshipped as being veritably God.

This staggering to and from one extreme to the other, this plunging backwards and forwards from the Divine to the sensuous, and from the sensuous to the Divine, this confusion of the Divine and sensuous together, result in that restless and fermenting phantasy, that riot of fantastic dreams and distorted shapes, which are characteristic of Hindu art.

This restlessness is evidence of the fact that the people among whom it obtains are, at least subconsciously, *aware* of the contradiction which is inherent in their conceptions. This contradiction consists in the fact that while, on the one hand, the immediate sense-object, the ape, the stone, the cow, is declared to be itself divine and God, yet on the other hand the object of sense is seen to be so utterly inadequate to the Divine being that the latter is projected wholly beyond the world of sense as the formless One, the entirely non-sensuous, the complete vacuity of empty Being. The Hindu imagination, therefore, is impelled to attempt in its art the reconciliation of this contradiction, this incompatibility between sense-object and Absolute. It can only do so, however, by the measureless extension of sense-objects, which are drawn out into colossal

and grotesque proportions in the vain hope that they will thus be made adequate to the Divine. Hence the monstrous and distorted shapes characteristic of Hindu art. Hence comes, too, all that extravagant exaggeration of mere size, not only in regard to spatial dimensions, but also as to time-durations,—the endless Kalpas, the monstrous and yawning vistas of time, which we meet with everywhere in Hindu conceptions. It is this, too, which explains the reduplication of the members, the many heads, arms, legs, in the statues of the Hindu gods.

The main feature of Hindu art, then, is the total inadequacy which it reveals between content and form. The spirit struggles to attain expression and cannot. It remains inarticulate. Huge masses of matter overwhelm it.

A somewhat higher stage is exhibited by Egyptian art. Here the separation between the divine and the sensuous has been more clearly made. Hence we get a more genuine symbolic art. The world-conceptions of the Egyptian people are clearly symbolized in the legend of the phoenix, in the pyramids, the labyrinths, Memnon-statues, obelisks and temples. The obelisks symbolize the rays of the sun, which are regarded as of spiritual import. The winding passages of the labyrinths symbolize the intricate movements of the heavenly bodies. The passages within the pyramids, which are tombs, stand for the wanderings of the soul after death. We find here, too, particular numbers taken as symbolical, especially the numbers seven and twelve. Seven is the number of the planets, twelve the number of the lunar revolutions or the number of feet that the Nile must rise to fertilize the land. Thus in Egyptian temples we get twelve steps or seven pillars. In such cases we can see more clearly the distinct severation of the two sides and consequently the allocation of this definite symbol for that definite meaning.

But the completely conscious distinction of the two sides is only found in the pantheistic art of the Hindus and Persians, and the art of sublimity as worked up by the Hebrew poets and prophets. In both cases the Absolute is now set clearly on *this* side and the phenomenal world on *that*. The Absolute is then conceived as the divine essence of the world, the substance of which all things else are but the accidents, the sole essential reality of which all else is but shadowlike appearance and manifestation. Two relations are, in that case, possible. Either phenomena are *exalted*, as revealing the immanent divine. This gives rise to the art of mystical pantheism. Or phenomena are conceived as *negated* by the Divine, which is the supreme reality before which all finite things flee away, perish, are as nothing. All phenomena are then used as testifying, by their own essential nothingness, to the greatness and glory of God. Of men the Psalmist says: "Thou sufferest them to pass away like a brook; they are like as a sleep, even as the grass, which is soon withered and in the evening is cut down and dried up. Thy scorn maketh us to pass away; Thou showest Thine anger, and we are gone."

The essential defect of symbolic art, throughout all its phases, is the incongruity between content and embodiment. It is this which forces art onwards to a new development in which this defect is remedied. This is the classical type of art.

Sub-Section 2.

The Classical Type of Art.

In symbolic art the spiritual content does not reside immanent in the embodiment. It remains external to it. This defect, however, is itself due to a profounder cause, namely, that the content in symbolic art is *abstract* instead of being concrete. We have seen that art is the apprehension of the Absolute, and that the Absolute is spirit. Consequently in art spirit appre-

hends itself. But spirit is essentially concrete. Mere consciousness is not, as such, true spirit. True spirit is *self-consciousness*. Only when spirit as subject has put itself forth from itself, made itself an object to itself, and again thereafter annulled this self-division and comprehended both sides of itself in a unity—only then is it the *concrete* unity of self-knowing spirit. Or to put the same thing in another way. Spirit is the universal, but not the abstract universal. As *universal* it must sunder itself into the *particular*, and again comprehend its universality and particularity in concrete *individuality*. If then art is to enable the human spirit to grasp the essential nature of spirit,—and this is precisely the function of art—this can only be completely possible where it conceives spirit as concrete. But in symbolic art spirit, as seen in the side of content, is conceived only as abstract. The spiritual content of symbolic art consists solely in mere abstractions. This is most clearly visible in the case of Hindu art, where the Absolute is envisaged merely as the formless One. This One is the barest and emptiest of all possible abstractions. It contains no more than the category of pure Being,—the poorest and vacantest of all the categories. In its utter abstraction from the world of sense, in its infinite exaltation above all the particularity of Nature, the One reveals itself as the empty universal, in which neither particularity nor individuality has any part.

The failure of symbolic art to combine content and form in a real unity arises from this abstractness of the content. The very meaning of the abstract universal is that it is a universal which does *not* pass over into the particular and individual, which does not, in fact, embody itself in individual forms. Hence the attempt of symbolic art to exhibit its abstract conceptions in sensuous embodiments is doomed to failure. An abstraction is precisely that which *cannot* combine with a sensuous and individual embodiment. The formless One of the Hindus, for example, is such that its very nature is to reject the sensuous, to refuse all combination with it. If, therefore, art is to attain that harmonious balance and accord of content and form, which the notion of art demands, this can only be possible where the content is concrete. The concrete universal, just because it is concrete, goes forth of its own accord into the particular, and constitutes itself an individual. Such a content has therefore an inherent suitability for sensuous embodiment. It combines readily with its external form. But in order that art may rise to this level, it is necessary that the people who create it should have ceased to view the Absolute as a bare abstraction, and should have learned to grasp it as concrete.

This step forward was taken by the Greeks. For them the Divine is no longer empty Being, empty universality, but spiritual individuality. The Greek gods are personal individual beings like ourselves. The task which art sets itself is to know the Absolute in its truth, and this can only mean to know it as spirit. Now when spirit comes to know the Absolute, not as empty Being, but as spirit, what it learns is that the Absolute is *itself*. Hence anthropomorphism becomes the dominant note, and the Absolute is conceived under the mode of human individuality. Anthropomorphism is the leading feature of classical art.

Because the spiritual content is now concrete, it readily combines with sensuous form, and the essential notion of classical art is that in it content and form are in perfect unity. The content no longer remains outside the form, as in symbolical art, but enters into it as its immanent soul. The outward form perfectly expresses the inner content. Nothing is left over unexpressed. And since the perfect unity of content and form is the ideal of art as such, it follows that classical art is the most perfect type of art. Romantic art is, indeed, as we shall see, a higher stage of spirit, but just for that very reason it tends to transcend the sphere of art altogether.

Since the principle of individuality is essential to art, these Greek gods are no mere abstract personifications, but genuine individuals depicted with a wealth of intimate characterization. Nevertheless because it is the *universal* in them which, as divine, must be emphasized, their universality must not descend too far into the *particularity* of the finite world. Though in the world, they are not of it. Into the infinite welter of empirical particulars they do not enter. They remain aloof in their blessed repose, in their eternal calm, exalted above all mere transitoriness and contingency. This atmosphere of calm and immortal blessedness is the outstanding feature of the gods as depicted in Greek sculpture. By this means is emphasized the universality of the Divine. For the universal as such is just that unity into which division, difference, and strife, have not yet entered.

Since classical art is essentially anthropomorphic, the sensuous form which it selects as that most suitable to embody its content, is the *human form*. Because the Absolute is now conceived as spirit, man sees the Absolute primarily in *himself*. And the human form is alone, of all the forms of the sense-world, entirely suited to be the dwelling-place and embodiment of spirit. The human body is, in fact, spirit in its material shape. Hence sculpture is *par excellence* the classical art, the art which most perfectly sets forth the classical ideal. For sculpture, although not entirely restricted to the human form, takes that as its centre and focus. Sculpture, too, is the art most suited to express that infinite calm and blessed repose which is characteristic of the classical type of beauty. For it is fitted to express rest rather than action and motion. Classical art is especially, but not solely, Greek. Moreover, Greek art was not solely classical. Traces of symbolism and romanticism occur in it.

The dissolution of classical beauty takes place through the fact that its conception of the Divine involves a contradiction, and is thus defective. The Divine ought to be free and infinite spirit. But the Greek gods are neither free nor infinite. As a plurality they are limited by each other. They are not the supreme masters of the world, nor even of their own destinies. Above them looms an inscrutable and mysterious Fate. They are, after all, merely finite beings, not free, but subject, as men are, to the necessary course of events. What has really happened, when this is realised, is that spirit finds that no individual or sensuous form is genuinely adequate to express its nature. For the individual, as being merely one among others, is finite and unfree. And since no sensuous shape is adequate to spirit, spirit now retires out of its sensuous embodiment, retires into itself and its own subjectivity. This gives rise to a new type of art, a type in which spirit tends more and more to expatiate within its own realm, to drop the veils of sense altogether, to withdraw into itself, to divest itself of its material embodiment. In this way the side of material embodiment gets whittled away, and spirit predominates over matter. This is Romantic art.

Sub-Section 3.

The Romantic Type of Art.

In symbolic art spirit remained external to, and was overwhelmed by, matter. In classical art spirit had entered into matter and was perfectly fused with it. In romantic art spirit has not merely entered into, but has passed out beyond, material form. The perfect union of classical art is, for that reason, broken up. Spirit has now again, as in symbolic art, become external to form, but in a converse way, for spirit has now left its sensuous embodiment behind.

Classical art was the perfect type of art as such, and this perfection of art is given up in the romantic type. But, on the other hand, since in romantic art spirit more clearly grasps

its own true nature, it is, for that reason, a higher phase of spiritual development than classical art. But in so far as it transcends the perfect type of art, it, to that extent, transcends the limits of art altogether. It is, in fact, a transitional stage in which spirit is already beginning to leave the sphere of art behind and to pass into the higher sphere of religion.

Spirit, then, now finds that no sensuous shape is truly adequate to it. What alone rises to the dignity of spirit is its own inward spiritual life. The inward life of the soul, its absolute subjectivity—this is the essential subject-matter of romantic art. And romantic art is, practically speaking, Christian art, the art of modern Europe.

We saw that if spirit is to grasp its own nature truly, it must grasp itself as *concrete* spirit, that is to say, as the spirit which does not remain in the blissful repose of its universality, but sunders itself in division with itself, again reconciles itself, heals the division, and returns to a bliss and repose which is no longer that of inaction but is won out of the heart of conflict. To exhibit this process of spirit is an essential function of romantic art. The inner conflict of spirit with itself, its alienation from itself, and its ultimate self-reconciliation, these are the chief content of romantic beauty. It is for this reason that, whereas the classical work of art bore always upon it the stamp of an eternal, blissful, undisturbed, immortal repose and calm, romantic art, on the contrary, tends to depict conflict, action, and movement. And whereas pain, suffering, and evil were either excluded from classical art or at least relegated to the background, these things, even the *ugly* itself, now find a place in romantic art. For it is the *torn* soul that is here depicted, the soul in conflict with itself. Yet not merely the soul in conflict. For the division must be overcome. The universal not merely sunders into particularity. It also returns into itself and restores itself as essential unity. Only then is it concrete. This conflict and triumph of spirit are envisaged especially in Christian consciousness as the life, death, and resurrection of Christ, and, in a lesser degree, in the lives of the apostles, saints, and martyrs. Hence these subjects are especially suitable to romantic art, and the great era of mediaeval painting is almost wholly concerned with them. The Divine is no longer mere universality, subsisting above all mundane affairs in blissful repose. The Divine, as universal, now sunders itself into particularity, enters the actual world, becomes flesh. God is this individual actual man, Christ. He enters into the conflict of the finite world. This is the sundering of the universal into particularity. But in the resurrection and ascension we have the *third* moment of the Notion, the return of the Idea into itself, into concrete unity, the reconciliation of the division which it has made within itself.

Since spirit has, in romantic art, withdrawn into itself, what it now regards as alone of infinite worth is itself. The external material world is degraded to the significance of a cipher. *The infinite worth of personality* becomes, therefore, a leading idea of this type of art. This is emphasized especially in the literature and art of *chivalry*. Chivalry has three essential features,—honour, love, and loyalty. The principle of all three is the infinitude of personality, of the ego. The principle of honour is that I, this bare ego, am a *person* who, as such, am of infinite value. Honour contends, not for the common weal, nor for any ethical or substantive end, but simply for the recognition of my inviolability as a person. Romantic love involves the same idea, the recognition, in this case, of the infinite worth of another person. Loyalty, or fidelity in the service of a master, lastly, does not attach itself to the objects of ethical value for which that master may happen to contend, but to the *person* of the master as such, in whatever enterprises, good or bad, he may undertake. What is, in all these cases, emphasized, is that the ego is an end in itself, which cannot be used as a mere means. And every end in itself is infinite.

None of these ideals is found in Greek art. The wrath of Achilles is aroused, not by any insult to him as a *person*, but, on the contrary, by the loss of what he regards as his share of the booty. Only what is actual and outward, the booty as an external thing, is here regarded as of value. If that is restored, all is well. Personal honour does not enter into the matter. But in romantic art it is the inward and subjective which is valued, the mere outward sensuous thing being regarded as a nullity. So too romantic love, which is the characteristic note of modern art, has no place in classical art at all. Not spiritual, but purely physical love is there understood as the sole intelligible relation between the sexes.

A further consequence of the emphasis which romantic art lays upon the side of subjectivity, or spiritual content, and its neglect of objectivity, is this. Whereas the characters in ancient literary art tended each to embody some universal ethical principle, the characters in modern literature represent chiefly themselves. The source of their activities is no ethical principle but their individual peculiarities of character. They pursue their own private ends. These may be good or they may be bad. But if they are good, i.e. if they are *intrinsically* universal, they are still pursued not for that reason, but merely because the individual chooses to make them his personal ends. Thus ancient drama envisaged essentially a conflict of universal ethical forces. In modern drama the conflict is simply between individual characters as such, each of whom stands, not on any ethical basis, but simply on the basis of his own personality. A Shakespearean character acts entirely from his internal resources, sticks to his personal aims through thick and thin, remaining self-consistent till the end. Not the *objective* life of the state, of the family, of civil society, is here depicted, but inward soul-life and subjectivity.

Painting, music and poetry, are the three preeminently romantic arts. This is so for two reasons. Firstly, romantic art is concerned with action and conflict, not repose—and these three arts are alone capable of representing *movement* successfully. Moreover their principle is subjectivity, which is the basis of romantic art. Thus the eye, which is the window through which we look into the depths of soul-life, is, in sculpture, *always blind*. The eye is not represented except as a cavity or blind hall. Painting, however, can give the gleam and glance of the eye. And the reason is that sculpture has not for its function to penetrate subjective soul-life, and any attempt to do so, as by painting in the eye and its glance, would be essentially bad art, because sculpture would in such a case overstep its proper limits. It should depict spirit only in its universality and repose, not in the inner movements of the soul. Secondly the material media of painting, music, and poetry, are more ideal. Sculpture and architecture have as their media *solid* matter. Painting uses only two dimensions and the mere *appearance* of solidity. Music discards space altogether and exists in time only. Poetry, lastly, has for its medium the purely inward and subjective sensuous *image*.

Romantic art has the germ of its dissolution within itself. Its essential principle is that spirit no longer finds any sensuous embodiment adequate to it. But the very essence of art is the sensuous embodiment of spiritual content. The complete development of the principle of romantic art, therefore, can only end in the total dissolution of all art. Spirit finds that a new sphere is required for its self-realization, and this new sphere is religion, in entering which it abandons art.

Notes & Queries.

SOME NOTES ON PERCIVAL'S "CEYLON."

By J. P. LEWIS, C.M.G., C.C.S. (Retired.)

Palambahar.

THE following is an attempt at ascertaining the meaning of a curious place name given by Captain R. Percival in his *Account of the Island of Ceylon*, page 376. It was given me by the late John Abeykoon, a Gansabhawa President of the Negombo District, a man of considerable learning and love of study whose death occurred in 1920. The passage referred to runs:—

"March 10th. The tenth of March, 1800, being fixed upon for the day of our departure the General, his staff and suite, with the above escort, marched from Colombo to Palambahar, about four miles distant, and situated on the right bank of the Mutwal river. Here we encamped in some rice fields adjoining."

On this Mr. Abeykoon remarks in a note dated 3rd August, 1907, that the plan of encampment may have included some part of the village now known as Sédawatta. The late Dutch Government is said to have established sericulture in a garden of this village, and to have given it up as the enterprise did not prove a success. The name Sédawatta means "silk garden." This is a village in Ambatalen-pahala, in the Colombo Mudaliyar's division.

Why this locality was called by Percival Palambahar, may, in Mr. Abeykoon's opinion, be accounted for as follows: The Embassy, on their march, probably came across a large boat called in Sinhalese "*Pālam pāruwa*," near the site of the present Victoria Bridge at Grand Pass, used for ferrying people across the Kelani, and probably also a smaller boat kept ready for a similar purpose on the "Dutch Canal" at Sédawatta. The Tamil interpreter, on whom they depended for telling them the names of places on the line of march, would, in accordance with the Tamil habit, have called the larger boat "*Palampar*," dropping the final syllable in the Sinhalese word *Pālampāruwa*. Percival, as might easily happen with anyone ignorant of Sinhalese, took the name of the boat for the name of the place, and, when making a note of the name, altered it to Palambahar to correspond with names of places of a similar sound that he had been familiar with in India, e.g. Behar, Kandahar. He adds that if this is not the explanation, Percival must have coined the name from the Sinhalese *pālama*, "a bridge," and the Indian word derived from Sanscrit, *bahir*, meaning "outside" or "beyond."

There was no Bridge of Boats here at this time. It owed its construction to Sir Edward Barnes.

That it was a Tamil interpreter who accompanied the Embassy is evident from other passages in Percival's book.

On page 378 Percival writes: "March 15th. Marched twelve miles to Gurruwaddi." Now the Sinhalese name for this place is not Gurruwaddi, but Gurubewila or Hanwella. But the Tamil name for it even at the present day is "Kuruwadi." Percival adopted this name but substituted for the Tamil *k* the *g* of the Sinhalese name.

I have little doubt myself that the boat theory is the correct explanation, as suggested by Mr. Abeykoon.

Native Names.

Percival was familiar with Knox whom he quotes several times, and he adopts some of his spellings, including, as of course he could not avoid doing, the mistakes made by the printer in reading Knox's MS, for instance "Talanour" for "Yatanour," "Jaddese" for "Yakdessa," "Raterants" for "Raterālas." He writes "Courly" for "Korale," which is very Knoxian.

He was the first English writer, so far as I know, to use the word "Ceylonese" to mean the Sinhalese. In fact I think the coinage of this word is due to him. Sydney Smith, who, in 1803, wrote a review of his book, talks of the "Cinglese;" but De Quincey, who reviewed Bennett's "*Ceylon and its Capabilities*" about 1846, uses both "Cinghalese" and "Ceylonese." The latter word is now used in a different sense which it is not necessary to explain here.

Curious words and spellings of Percival's are:

Soupkie—a glass

Coora=coir or "manilla."

Floormouse=flying fox (Dutch)

Cushoo apple

Mouskeltoes=mosquitoes. The spelling of this word was not at this time settled.

Mulecatonny. (This is nearer the Tamil words than "muligatawny," the word which has now become "standardised.")

Hominy=a grater. Sinh. *hīramanē*.

"Puckalle" men who supply the people of the Fort of Colombo with water from the springs outside the Fort. This is an Indian word (see *Hobson-Jobson*). It is used also by Deschamps, probably taken over from Percival, as it is not known in Ceylon I think.

The Sinhalese name for Adam's Peak, Samanala or Hamaṇala, is written "Hammallell" and Puttalam is disguised as "Portallom."

INSCRIPTION OF THE PANELIYA RAJA MAHA VIHARE.

By G. W. WOODHOUSE, M.A., LL.M., C.C.S.

THE Vihāre, which is situate at Paneliya in the Udapola Otota Kōrale of the Seven Kōrales, about three miles from the Polgahawela Railway station, has recently been renovated by the present incumbent, Eriyagama Dharmaṇanda Terunnāṇse, a learned and energetic priest, who was kind enough to let me take a copy of the inscription and to give me English and Sinhalese translations of it.

The inscription runs along the whole length of a large rock which stands prominently on the left of the Vihare.

The inscription, so far as it can be deciphered, reads as follows :—

Pasudiga imetene widu bodi hata pana budu wasin atasiya ata losu wasa Goluaba raja dawasa lo aranawa dambadiwa wada dwanda yuddha ilwa nolaba ranakola Mahu-charaka-gama jayagena e wu rana maha raja wet lada Buddha dhatu Katiwa charaka-gama boruka haragena lakdiwada metan situwa pudukaranawa anachcha wadarana panatai.

Sinhalese Translation of above :—

මෙ ස්ථානයේ පසුවම දිසාභාගයෙහි පිහිටුවා තිබෙන බෝධිත්වන්තේ වනාහි ශ්‍රී බුදු වර්ෂ 818 දී රජවැසියන් මසින් ලදහත් කරණැලෑවු ගොවිඳබා රජයෙම දැඩිදිව් වැඩ එහි රජුවෙහි සුදු පිණිස යවනලද හසුකව තොලකලද පිළිතුරු ඇත්තේ සුමාරමානොව වරක භාමස අල්ලා ලබනලද සම්බුද්ධානු හා වරක බෝධිය ගෙන ලන්දිව් වැඩ මෙහි රෝපනයකර පුදපුරා පවත්වන්ට නියමකර වදල බෝධිය වේ—

English Translation of the above :—

"In 818 B.E., King Goluaba, being angered of his subjects, proceeded to India and sought the assistance of the King of that place against his subjects; but, being unsuccessful in his appeal, he proclaimed war upon and conquered Charakaggrama and took the relics of Buddha and the Charakaggrama Bhodi with which he returned to Ceylon. And in this place on the western side, he commanded that the bo tree be planted and offerings made thereto."

THE TULABHARA OR SCALE-WEIGHING CEREMONY.

BY JOHN M. SENAVERATNA, F.R.H.S.

THAT King Kirti Nissanka Malla (A.B. 1731-1740) was a "past-master of braggadocio" there seems no reason to dispute, but there would appear to be insufficient room for questioning—as Mr. H.C.P. Bell does in his paper on "King Kirti Nissanka and the Tulabhara ceremony"—the "number of times" on which the scale-weighing ceremony was performed during his reign.

It is true that Nissanka's claim exceeds that of any other monarch who preceded or succeeded him on the Sinhalese throne, but that fact alone does not constitute a valid ground for accusing him of wilful exaggeration in this respect. It was by no means an unusual circumstance for the Kings of this period to hold more than one *tulabhara* ceremony during their reigns.

Mr. Bell mentions the case of Dāppula III (A.B. 1361-1377) who "commanded gifts equal to his weight in the balance should be given to the poor,"¹ it may be more than once. But of Udaya I (A.B. 1435-1446), who reigned 11 years, we read: "Three times did this famous king give gifts of precious things equal to his weight in the balance,"² and of Mahinda IV.

1. *Ceylon Antiquary*, Vol. I, p. 85.

2. *Mahavamsa* XLIX. 79.

3. *Ibid* LI. 128.

(A.B. 1508-1524): "Twice did this lord of the land give to the brethren, who lived altogether on free gifts, presents of precious things equal to his weight in the balance." *

As of interest in this connection may be mentioned the monument known as the "King's Balance" (*Tulābhāra* or *Tulāpurusha-Dāna* Monument), situated at a short distance to the south-west of the Vitthala Temple on the southern bank of the Tungabhadra in the Hospet taluk of the Bellary district of the Madras Presidency. The following description of the monument appears in Mr. A. H. Longhurst's *Hampi Ruins*, for a copy of which interesting work the writer is indebted to the author:—

"Supported on two lofty granite pillars of elegant appearance, is a massive stone beam or transom designed like the waggon-headed roofs of the temple gateways or *gopurams*. On the underside of the transom are carved three stone rings for the support of the large pair of scales, which were fixed to the beam whenever the ceremony was performed. The monument faces the east, and, on this side, the base of one of the stone pillars is ornamented with a crude sculptural representation of a king and his two wives.

"Early Indian and Sinhalese kings followed this strange custom on their coronation, and the Vijayanagar sovereigns, too, as we learn from some of their inscriptions, made this gift in accordance with the rules laid down in the *sāstras*.

"One inscription records that, after the capture of the famous Hill Fort at Kondavidu in the Guntur district on the 23rd June, 1515 A.D., Krishna Rāya, the greatest of all the Vijayanagar sovereigns, in the same year, accompanied by his two wives, Chinnadēvi-Amma and Tirumaladēvi-Amma who appear to have accompanied him during his military campaigns, visited the temple of Amareśvara near Dharanikota (the historic Dharmayakataka), bestowed there the munificent gift known as *Tulāpurusha-dāna*, *Ratnadhōna*, and *Saptasagara* and presented some villages to the temple."

"In all probability, the sculptured representation of a king and his two queens carved on the base of the pillar mentioned above, is intended to represent Krishna Rāya and his two wives referred to in the inscription. Achyuta-Rāya (A. D. 1530-1542), who succeeded Krishna Rāya, was most profuse in his gifts to temples and Brahmins. One inscription, which is registered in the Annual Report of the Assistant Superintendent for Epigraphy, records that on one occasion when Achyuta Rāya performed the *Tulāpurusha-dāna* ceremony, he 'weighed himself against pearls.'"

The *Dānasāgara*,* an early work of about the 11th century of the Christian Era, tell us that "the ceremony of *Tulāpurusha-dāna* must be performed on auspicious occasions such as the day of equinox, solstices, the end or beginning of a *yuga*, the day of a lunar or solar eclipse, *sankrānti*, or new-moon."

The places for the ceremony, according to the same authority, "must be sacred places of pilgrimage, a temple, a garden, a cow-pen, a house, a forest, or the neighbourhood of a river's bank. The images of Brahma, Siva and Achyuta (Vishnu) must be worshipped. A golden figure representing Vasudēva must be placed in the centre of the beam. Four Brahmins, versed severally in the four Vedas, must be placed in the four different quarters, north, south, east, and west, respectively. These will perform *homa* to propitiate the lords of the eight regions, the Lokapālas. The donor must put on all his ornaments, hold his sword and wear his armour, and sit in the scale looking peacefully at the image of Vasudēva. After the weighing is over the gold coins are to be distributed among Brahmins."

For, as the same authority states, "a wise man must not keep in his house the money thus allotted for a long time. He who weighs against his own person in gold and distributes it among Brahmins will extricate his forefathers from ten generations (past and present) and from all misery."

4. Ibid., LV, 27.

5. According to Mr. Bell, however, "it seems to have formed no part of the oblation, or Communion Rites, of Sinhalese Kings."

6. A. B. R. 1808-09, p. 178.

7. 1809-1000, p. 28.

8. Quoted by Mr. Longhurst.

NACCADUWA TANK.

BY W. M. FERNANDO.

THE ancient name of this tank has not yet been identified, and it does not appear in the *Mahāvamsa* or in any other chronicles. According to tradition, Naccadūwa tank was built by Mahā-Sena, (277-304 A.D.)

Parker gives a detailed description of the tank and suggests that it might be the Mahā-dāragalla tank made by Mahā-Sena.

The *Mahāvamsa* mentions the name of a tank called Nandivāpi near which a certain landed proprietor of the Moriyān dynasty named Dhātusēna, grand father of Dhātusēna II and father of the parricide King Kāsyapa of Sigiriya, had established himself. Mahānāma, the uncle of Dhātusēna II, resided at Anurādhapura, in his sacerdotal character at the edifice built by Dighasandana (minister of Devānampiya Tissa). One day Mahānāma observed that, while his nephew Dhātusēna (then a young priest) was chaunting at the foot of a tree, a shower of rain fell and a nāga protected him and his books, with its hood, against the rain and Mahānāma conducted him to the Vihāra (Dighāsanda) at Anurādhapura (*Mah. XXXVIII. p. 163.*)

This fact would help us to opine that Nandivāpi is in the district of Anurādhapura.

The closer and more appropriate name that might be suggested for it (Nandivāpi) is that now called "Naccadūwa" tank. It is situated about 11 miles from Anurādhapura. The meaning of both "Nandi" and "Nacca" in Pali is about the same;—*Nandi* means "pleasure" or "enjoyment" and *Nacca* "dancing."

Most probably the tank was, in ancient days, prior to King Mittasēna (435 A.D.), a place for "water festivals" (*diyakeliya*) like Mihintale where Devānampiya Tissa had his water festivals before the arrival of Mahinda and the consecration of the place. The distance from Mihintale to Naccadūwa tank and from Anurādhapura to Naccadūwa is the same (11 miles).

The land surrounding the tank contains some ruins, the bricks of which are similar in size to some bricks found in ancient irrigation works viz :—Tisāvewa, Nuwara Vewa, Sigiriya &c. The bricks measure 1.9" in length, 9 to 10 inches breadth and 2 to 3 inches in thickness. The bricks strongly support the opinion that it was the work of an early date.

CAPTAIN BEAVER'S LETTERS:
"RATHMALGALLE."

BY J. P. LEWIS, C.M.G. C.C.S., (Retired.)

RATHMALGODA is situated at Walgampota, just at the boundary of Siyanē Kōrale. The village adjoining it is Atta-nda-kanda in Siyanē Kōrale. This place is called by the people "Sarakuwa" (සරකුව). It is on a hill. A stone wall had been constructed from Attanagala to the top of the hill and this wall is about two chains in length. The wall is now breached in many places.

"At the top of the hill there is the site of a small building, and at the end of the stone-wall towards the oya and adjoining the oya there is the site of a watch-hut (මුරපැල-murapēla.) No one from Siyané Kōrale can get into Three Kōrales without passing the watch-hut. Walgam-pota people can get to the top of the hill, but not those of Siyané Kōrale, owing to the stone wall. The land where the watch-hut stood at the foot of the hill is called Murapaléhēna.

"One Ango Hami, an old woman about 90 years of age, used to say that she heard from her father that once soldiers had fired at the spot and that shots and balls struck his pīta on a chena. Distance to Ratmalgolla from Attanagalla in Hewāgam Kōrale, 18 miles."

COBRA LORE.

By F. W. M. KARUNARATNA, MUDALIYAR.

WITH reference to the query by "Historicus" (see *Ceylon Antiquary*, Vol. VI. Pt. II. p.97), the tradition amongst the Sinhalese is not only that the vertebra or one of the spinal bones of the cobra drops off each time it stings, but also that it "flies," like the flying fish, when its length is thus reduced by the expenditure of its poison.

The following, which is quoted from the *Yōgaratnākara*, a Sinhalese Medical work, should prove an interesting addition to local Cobra Lore. It refers to the food and dwelling places of the respective cobras of the different castes:—

| | | | |
|------------------|---|------------------|---|
| රජ කුල බෝරන වල | ඳ | වෙලඳ රස බොජුන | ඳ |
| විමනක වෙති වාසය | ඳ | වෙලඳ අගයක වාස | ඳ |
| බමුනත් ගඳ මල් වල | ඳ | කොට්ටි බත් බොජුන | ඳ |
| අදවස්සානත් වස | ඳ | කොට්ටි අලකක වාස | ඳ |

The above may be translated thus :

"The food (of the Cobra) of the Kshatriya caste is white food and it resides in a palace; that of the cobra of the Brahmin caste is fragrant flowers, and it dwells in a temple; the food of the cobra of the Vaisya caste is sweetmeats and its dwelling place is a house; and the food of the Govi caste cobra is rice and its habitation a den.

1. The above is an extract from a Report made by Medeniya Disāwa (now Adigar) to the Government Agent of the Western Province in 1912, for the information of Mr. Lewis.

Literary Register.

THE KANDYAN PENSIONERS, OR THE LAST SCIONS OF SINHALESE ROYALTY.

HISTORY OF THE PENSIONS.

Causes of Their Origin.

(Continued from Vol. VI. Pt. III. Page 180.)

No. 6.

MEMORANDUM on certain proceedings of the Madras Government, with special reference to the case of Vencatasamy Rajah, and other Tanjore and Negapatam Pensioners. Also MINUTE of the Right Hon'ble the Governor of Madras.

A Petition from Vencataramasamy Rajah, a third-life pensioner, son of Subbarayalah Rajah, the adopted son of Vencatasamanul, also called Moodoo Ammamani, the widow of Moolcosamy Rajah, has been forwarded to this Government by the Chief Secretary to the Government of Madras, together with a Minute by Lord Napier, and certain resolutions of that Government on this case in particular, as well as on the general position of the Kandyan pensioners. The latter part of the subject has been dealt with in the body of the Report, but there remain to be considered the cases of the abovementioned Vencataramasamy Rajah, of Vencatasamy Rajah, and Dorasamy Rajah, all of Negapatam, and belonging to the same family.

I may repeat at the outset that there is a striking contrast between these men and the general mass of the Kandyan pensioners. They are men of most gentlemanly manners, devoid altogether of the ridiculous pretension which characterised nearly the whole of the family of Vickrema Singha.

They are all educated men, send their children to school, and would be glad to settle down into private life, if they had a chance of doing it respectably. They recognise as their head Vencataramasamy, who is in receipt of a pension of Rupees 58 5 4, a young gentleman, twenty-five years old, of very pleasing address, who speaks English perfectly, has passed one of the test examinations for the Indian Uncovenanted Service, and is anxious to obtain employment under that Government. His case naturally comes first for consideration.

The first life in this pension drew a stipend of Rupees 175; the second life should have therefore drawn Rupees 116 10 8, while to the third, or present, life would come Rupees 58 5 4, the amount now drawn by Vencataramasamy, supposing the system of decrease by one-half to be applied in this instance.

But Subbarayalu Rajah, instead of receiving the Rupees 117 10 8 to which he was really entitled, was only allowed to draw Rupees 39 12 0, an injustice, the force of which has

been recognised by the fact, that his son has been allowed to inherit from him a pension calculated on the higher rate, and actually draws considerably more than his father did.

Thus, for twenty-two years, i.e., from January, 1846, till January, 1868, this unfortunate man Subbarayalu, instead of drawing Rupees 116 10 8, to which he was entitled, drew Rupees 39 12 0 per month only, an aggregate loss to him of no less than Rupees 20,306; and I have no hesitation in saying that this presents by far

THE GREATEST CASE OF HARDSHIP

to be met with among the Kandyan pensioners.

In the cases of the ex-queens of Vickrema Singha, as well as of those of Rajadhi Singha, two-thirds of their pension was granted to their adopted sons. Subbarayalu's case was the only exception; and as upon him devolved the support of the whole household and servants of his adoptive mother, it is hardly to be wondered at that the unfortunate man died Rupees 7,000 in debt, which of course falls on the son, Vencataramasamy.

Inasmuch as this Government has, during Subbarayalu's life time, withheld from him nearly three times the amount of the debts which he left behind, it would appear to be but an act of tardy justice to make enquiry into these debts, and to discharge such as have been fairly incurred. As regards Vencataramasamy, he has applied to have his pension commuted on liberal terms, and I would strongly recommend that his request be complied with. He is well known to the Assistant Collector of Negapatam, who has assured me that he is likely to make a good use of the money.

I need hardly say that the pension should, in commuting it, not be dealt with as a life pension. It would be out of the question to withdraw it on the death of Vencataramasamy, and leave his family, as well as the relatives and others who depend upon him, to want. From eighteen to twenty years' purchase might fairly be allowed in this case, as being one of the special list reserved for exceptional treatment. Though this Government would not gain financially by a commutation at twenty years of this pension (rating interest at 5 per cent.), it would not lose: politically, it would, I think, make an important gain.

Vencataramasamy has also applied for the exemption from appearing in Minor Courts as a witness, which is accorded to the near relatives of some of the deposed Indian Princes, under Act 8 of 1859, sec. 22, but I am not disposed to support this request.

Vencatasamy Rajah, a second-life pensioner, aged twenty-nine, has also applied to commute his pension. He is a grandson of Chinnasamy Rajah, the third brother of Mootoosamy Rajah, but inherited his pension from his adoptive mother, Lutchmuamaul, widow of Galibilisamy Rajah, uncle of Mootoosamy, who came over in 1806. This commutation might fairly be made by calculating the value of the present stipend for Vencatasamy's life, and adding the value of the deferred annuity at half the present rate, which will revert to the third life.

Vencatasamy is on the Rupees 200 class of ceremonial allowances, and asks to be transferred to the 2nd class. If the pension be commuted, all claim to these allowances should cease with it: but, under any circumstances, I do not consider that any claim has been substantiated.

He also applies for certain arrears of pension. It appears that Lutchmuamaul died on 31st December, 1855, and that his pension was not sanctioned till 31st October, 1858. He was undoubtedly entitled to the arrears for the intervening twenty-two months, but as he did not put forward his claim till three years later, the Madras Government declined sanctioning it. Though I think the claim was to a certain extent forfeited, it would be an act of liberality to a very respectable man if the arrears were now allowed to him. Vencatasamy is not above seek-

ing employment, and was actually employed in the Railway Office for some time. He speaks English, though not as well as Vencataramasamy.

The case of Doraswamy Rajah is also specially noticed by the Madras Government, and is undoubtedly one of hardship. He is the son of Chinnasamy, third brother of Mooloo-samy Rajah, who was the original grantee. Dorasamy was however allowed one-half only of his father's pension, instead of two-thirds, to which he was entitled as a second life. He applies, and is recommended by the Madras Government, for the two-thirds. It is submitted that this favour be extended to him.

J. DOUGLAS,
Auditor-General.

To the Honorable DOUGLAS, Esquire, Auditor-General of the Ceylon Government, Negapatam,
SIR,

1. I have to inform you that I am the grandson of the king Muttusawmi who was recognized to be the legitimate heir for the throne of Kandi, and the adopted son of Lachini Davi Ammal, widow of the late H.H. Galibilisawmi Raja, uncle and legal representative to the said king.

2. I clearly perceive that the object of the Ceylon Government in compromising the matter of paying monthly stipends to the Kandian pensioners, by paying a lump sum once and for ever, is to secure a permanent source of income for their family, and to ameliorate their conditions.

3. I am much disposed to fall in with the views of the Government (*i.e.*) in receiving the commutation, provided that the rules by which the amount of commutation is fixed are explained to me.

4. I have reached second generation; my age is 29; and the amount of my stipend is Rupees 58-5-4 per mensem, even which sum is quite inadequate to support my dignity as a royal member.

5. If the Government proposed the scheme for the benefit of the royal members, as enumerated in para. II., I feel no scruple that the Government would in the least hesitate to acquaint me with the terms of commutation now in question.

6. I further beg to add, that my adoptive mother died on the 31st December, 1855, and that the two-thirds of her pension was granted to me in the month of November, 1857, but the arrears due to me from 1st January, 1856, up to 31st October, were not disbursed to me.

7. I have applied for the same to the Government Agent, who declined to entertain my application, in consequence of my having put forth my claims three years after the sanction of my pension.

8. My appeals against that decision were not heard by the Madras Government, which I see seldom disposed to differ from the opinion of their Government Agents.

9. I therefore, in conclusion, beg to request that you will be kind enough to submit these my humble requests to the favourable consideration of the Ceylon Government, and cause to be paid to me the said arrears of pension.

Negapatam,
18th March, 1871.

I beg, &c.,
P. VENCATASAWMY,
Rajah of Kandy.

To the Honorable DOUGLAS, Esquire, Auditor-General of the Ceylon Government, Negapatam,
SIR,

1. I have to inform you that I am the son of His Highness Chinnasamy Rajah, third brother of the late king Muthusamy of Kandy, who was placed on the throne of Kandy by the British Government, and who was decapitated with his uncle and legal representative, His Highness Galibilisamy Rajah, by the usurper, Vickramasimma Rajah.

2. On the death of my father, who was drawing a pension of Rupees 43-12-0, only half of the pension, viz., Rupees 21-14-0, was allowed to me under the Proceedings of the Ceylon Government, dated 29th September, 1838. This is apparently in opposition to the rules in existence, which provide two-thirds of the pension for the descendants of the original stipendiary.

3. In consequence of the inadequacy of the pension, I was driven to the necessity of contracting a debt of Rupees 3,000 for the purpose of maintaining my family, consisting of ten souls (i.e.) two wives, one adopted son, one aunt, three relatives, and three servants. I assure your honor that I cannot discharge my said debt by any other means except the increase of pension I now look for from the Ceylon Government.

4. I therefore, in conclusion, beg to request that you will be kind enough to represent these my adverse circumstances to the Ceylon Government, and have the two-thirds of the pension enjoyed by my late father, continued to me from the date of his death, and relieve me from the penury brought on my family by the above circumstances.

5. I think it expedient to submit this application to your honor, because I was not able to detail all the particulars contained in this application, in person, when I had an interview with your honor this morning. Also, I beg to add, that I have no house even to live in.

Negapatam,

18th March, 1871.

I beg, &c.

DOORASAWMY RAJAH [in Telegu.]

POLITICAL DEPARTMENT,

No. 233.

To the Honorable the COLONIAL SECRETARY, Colombo.

SIR,

I am desired by His Excellency the Governor in Council to forward, for the information of

Proceedings of Government, 7th January, 1868, No. 4.
Letter from the Government Agent, Tanjore, dated 26th June 1868, No. 103.
Petition from Vencatasawmy Rajah, dated 3rd March, 1868.
Letter from the Government Agent, Tanjore, dated 4th May, 1868, No. 28.
Minute by the Right Honorable the Governor, dated 24th May, 1868.

His Excellency the Governor of Ceylon, copies of the correspondence marginally noted, relating to the present condition of the Kandian pensioners who reside and draw their stipends in the Tanjore district.

2. The petitioner whose case is contained in the Proceedings of Government of the 7th January, 1868, and who is styled Prince Soobooroyaloo of Kandy, died on the 4th January, 1868. He was the nephew of King Moolosawmy, being the son of his brother Iyasawmy Rajah, and, on the death of King Mootosawmy, he was adopted by his widow named Vencadasamul, styled the Queen Dowager, such adoption being, it is believed, in accordance with Kandian usage.

3. This lady was in receipt of a monthly stipend of 50 Pagodas, and, on her death, only one-fourth of this sum, or 12½ Pagodas, was assigned to her adopted son; the practice of granting one-third of the allowance of a deceased stipendiary to his successor, now in force, not having been the rule when the allowance in question was assigned to Prince Soobooroyaloo. As he is dead, it is only necessary to describe the family and dependents left by him. It may be added that, owing to the high price of the necessaries of life and the number of his dependents, Prince Soobooroyaloo was, during his life-time, in great difficulties, and died, it is understood, involved in debt to the amount of 7,000 Rupees. The family left by him consists of his son Vecatasawmy Rajah,

His brother,
His sister,
His wife,
His two daughters,
Three relatives, and
Thirteen servants,

4. According to the rules now in force, Prince Soobooroyaloo would, on the death of his adoptive mother, have received two-thirds of her pension, or Rupees 116-10-8 per mensem, and his son would now receive two-thirds of Rupees 116-10-8, i.e., Rupees 77-12-6.

5. I am to state that, under the circumstances of the case, and having in view the indigent state of the family, their large number, and the great increase of the prices in the Tanjore district, His Excellency the Governor in Council trusts that the Ceylon Government will be pleased to assign a pension of Rupees 77-12-6 to Vencataramasawmy Rajah.

6. I am also desired to call attention to the concluding paragraphs (7 and 8) of Mr. Morris' letter of the 25th June, 1868, and its enclosure, which affords detailed information concerning the other Kandian pensioners, and to recommend that the two-third rate of pension be granted to all those recipients of allowances who have succeeded to, and are now drawing only half of the sum enjoyed by those from whom they derive their rights to stipend.

7. This indulgence is, in the opinion of His Excellency the Governor in Council, justified in their case, as in that of Vencataramasawmy Rajah, by their indigent condition, which, during the last few years, has been aggravated by the greatly enhanced cost of living. This course will, it is observed, meet the case of Dorasawmy Rajah, specially mentioned by Mr. Morris in paragraph 8 of his letter dated 25th June, 1868.

8. Although the arrangements above detailed will meet the exigencies of the cases to which the enclosed correspondence relates, I am directed by this Government to invite the attention of His Excellency the Governor of Ceylon to the Minute recorded by the President of the Council, in which the question of the return of the Kandian pensioners to their own country, is discussed, and in which it is suggested that the Ceylon Government might with advantage despatch an Officer to this country for the purpose of reviewing the condition of the exiled Kandians, first, with a view to the increase of their present scale of maintenance; secondly, with a view to the education and eventual settlement of the younger members of the two classes of pensioners, either in connexion with the land or the public service; and thirdly, and this would, in the opinion of this Government, be the most satisfactory arrangement of all, to their return to their own country.

Fort Saint George,
14th July, 1869.

I have, &c.,

Actg. Secy. to Govt.

Proceedings of the Madras Government, Political Department, 14th July, 1869.

Read again Petition from Prince SOOBOROYALOO of Kandy, dated 18th November, 1867, recorded in Proceedings of Government dated 7th January, 1868, No. 4.

Read also the following papers:—

No. 31. From G. L. MORRIS, Esq., Government Agent, Tanjore, to the Chief Secretary to Government, Fort Saint George; dated Point Calimere, 25th June, 1868, No. 103.

As directed in G. O., No. 4, dated the 7th January last, I have the honor to report on the petition addressed to Government by Prince Soobooroyaloo of Kandy.

2. Before giving a detailed account of petitioner's circumstances, I have the honor to state that he died on the 4th January last.

3. Petitioner was the nephew of King Moottoosawmy, being the son of his brother, Iyasawmy Rajah, and not the son of the brother or sister of Moottoosawmy's widow, as is supposed in paragraph 3 of the G.O. under reply. The said Moottoosawmy Rajah, on his death, left a widow named Vencadasamaul, whom petitioner calls the Queen Dowager. This lady adopted petitioner as her son, and, among the Kandians of his class, it appears that widows are competent to perform this ceremonial, which is customary and legal among them.

4. This lady was in receipt of a monthly stipend of 50 Pagodas, and on her death, one-fourth of this sum, or 12½ Pagodas, was assigned to her adopted son, the petitioner. The practice of granting two-thirds of the allowance of a deceased stipendiary to his successor, as is now in vogue among the Kandian pensioners, does not appear to have been the rule when the allowance in question was settled on petitioner.

5. From inquiry it appears that the said lady left to her adopted son a large family, consisting of several relations and servants who had grown old in the family service, and who had no other means of livelihood than the reduced pension of petitioner. Encumbered as he had been with so large a number of dependents, petitioner had much difficulty in maintaining them from his comparatively small allowance, more especially as the price of all necessities has considerably risen for several years past. Thus, at his death, he left a family, consisting of nine members and thirteen servants as shewn in the margin, and was also deeply involved in debt. The amount of his liabilities, as now ascertained by the Sub-Collector, comes to Rupees 7,000, which Mr. Best says was due to the insufficiency of his pension for the main-

Vencatasawmy Rajah,

His brother,

His sister,

His wife

His two daughters and three relatives

Thirteen servants.

tenance of his family. Petitioner had no other property or means of support than the allowance he drew from Government, and, consequently, there are no means by which the said debts can be liquidated.

6. According to the rules now in force in the case of Kandians, petitioner would have been entitled to two-thirds of the pension of his adoptive mother, viz, 33½ Pagodas, or Rupees 116-10-8. If this scale is adopted, petitioner's surviving family, of which his eldest son, Vencatasawmy Rajah, is the managing member, will be entitled to two-thirds of Rupees 116-10-8, i.e., Rupees 77-12-6. Considering the helpless state in which petitioner has left his family, I trust that his case may be benevolently viewed by the Governor in Council, and a recommendation made to the Ceylon Government accordingly, especially when it is remembered that petitioner was, on account of his having been adopted, the son and successor of Moottoosawmy, the last of the house of Kandy, and, as such, deserved more favourable consideration than had been shewn to him.

7. As regards the other Kandian pensioners, I have embodied all the necessary information regarding their condition and means of support in the accompanying tabular statement. With regard to these persons, I must remark that they are not generally in good circumstances.

8. There is, however, one case among those belonging to Moottoosawmy Rajah's section, which requires special mention, and that is Dorasawmy Rajah. This individual is the nephew of the said Moottoosawmy, being the son of his brother Chinnasawmy Rajah. This Chinnasawmy Rajah was enjoying a pension of Rupees 43-12-0, and, by the rules now in force, his son Dorasawmy Rajah would be entitled to a pension of Rupees 29-2-8, which is the two-thirds of his father's allowance, whilst what he now enjoys is but one-half, or Rupees 21-14-0.

TABLE showing the condition, &c., of the Kandyan Pensioners and Emigrants residing in the Tanjore District.

| No. | NAMES. | Relationship. | Monthly pension. | Date of attesting sanctioning the pension. | Land or other property or means of support possessed by such pensioner. | Number of relatives dependent on such pensioner. | REMARKS. |
|--|---|---|------------------|---|---|--|--|
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 |
| <i>Moosawamy Rajah's Section.</i> | | | | | | | |
| 1 | Sooberooyan Rajah, (no pension received) his son Venotammaswamy Rajah | Adopted son of Moosawamy Rajah, brother of Moosawamy Rajah, and adopted son of first and second queen of the late Ven. Rajah Rajasimha Mahipal. | Rs. 4. 0. | Not known. | None. | 0 | Is sold to maintain himself through service to his side. |
| 2 | Venotammaswamy Rajah. | Adopted son of Late King Padi Ananda, widow of Gullimawamy Rajah, maternal uncle of the late Moosawamy Rajah, brother of Moosawamy Rajah, and adopted son of Moosawamy Rajah, brother of Moosawamy Rajah, brother of Moosawamy Rajah, brother of Moosawamy Rajah. | 70 0 0 | 20th Sept. 1918. | Do. | 10 | |
| 3 | Bungarawamy Rajah. | Second son of Venotammaswamy Rajah, brother of Moosawamy Rajah, brother of Moosawamy Rajah, brother of Moosawamy Rajah, brother of Moosawamy Rajah. | 58 5 4 | 20th Nov. 1917. | Do. | 5 | |
| 4 | Gupdaswamy Rajah. | Third son of Venotammaswamy Rajah, brother of Moosawamy Rajah, brother of Moosawamy Rajah, brother of Moosawamy Rajah, brother of Moosawamy Rajah. | 23 2 8 | 1914. | Do. | 1 | |
| 5 | Coraswamy Rajah. | Son of Chinmaswamy Rajah, brother of Moosawamy Rajah, brother of Moosawamy Rajah, brother of Moosawamy Rajah, brother of Moosawamy Rajah. | 26 2 8 | 1911. | Do. | 2 | |
| 6 | | | 21 14 0 | 24th Sept. 1918. | Do. | 4 | |
| <i>See Vilara Simha Mahiraj's Section.</i> | | | | | | | |
| 7 | Hoththammaswamy Rajah. | Third ex-queen of the late Vilara Simha Mahiraj. | 120 0 0 | Not known. | Do. | 0 | |
| 8 | Tyagumaha Rajah, (no pension received) his son Venotammaswamy Rajah. | Adopted son of the late fourth ex-queen of do. | 20 10 8 | 29th Oct. 1911, No. 478. | Do. | 0 | |
| 9 | Venotammaswamy Rajah. | Wife of the late Venotammaswamy Rajah, brother of the late Venotammaswamy Rajah, brother of the late Venotammaswamy Rajah, brother of the late Venotammaswamy Rajah. | 08 5 4 | Not known. | Do. | 0 | |
| 10 | Venotammaswamy Rajah. | Adopted son of the late second ex-queen of the late Vilara Simha Mahiraj. | 44 11 0 | 7th Jan. 1910, No. 14. | Do. | 0 | |
| 11 | Venotammaswamy Rajah. | Fourth ex-queen of Kandy. | 50 0 0 | 30th June, 1910, No. 378, and 14th April, 1911. | Do. | 1 | |
| 12 | Madawamy Rajah. | Grand-daughter of do. | 10 10 0 | Not known. | Do. | 1 | |
| 13 | Adala Davi. | Do. | 10 10 0 | Do. | Do. | 1 | |
| 14 | Kumarawamy Nalok. | Father of Venotammaswamy Rajah, brother of the late Venotammaswamy Rajah, brother of the late Venotammaswamy Rajah, brother of the late Venotammaswamy Rajah. | 20 5 0 | Do. | Do. | 0 | |
| 15 | Kumarawamy Nalok. | Son of the late Venotammaswamy Rajah, brother of the late Venotammaswamy Rajah, brother of the late Venotammaswamy Rajah, brother of the late Venotammaswamy Rajah. | 37 4 0 | Do. | Do. | 0 | |
| 16 | Chinnawamy Nalok. | Brother of Venotammaswamy Rajah. | 10 4 0 | Do. | Do. | 0 | |
| 17 | Venotammaswamy Nalok. | Do. | 10 4 0 | Do. | Do. | 0 | |
| 18 | Kopaswamy Nalok. | Do. | 10 4 0 | Do. | Do. | 0 | |

But their number cannot be ascertained with accuracy.

TABLE STATEMENT showing the condition, &c., of the Kandian Prisoners and Emigrants residing in the Tanjore District.

| No. | NAME | Relationship. | Monthly pension. | Date of authority authorizing the pension. | Land or other property or income of support possessed by each prisoner. | Number of relatives residing in each pension. | REMARKS. |
|-----|----------------------|--|---------------------|--|--|--|----------|
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 |
| 14 | Chakkai, Unmal. | Wife of Chakraswamy Nair, No. 11. | 3 0 0 | 21st Nov. 1862, No. 102. | None. | 1 | |
| 15 | Konar, Unmal. | Wife of the late Vengaswamy of Kandy. | 10 7 4 | Not known. | Do. | 1 | |
| 16 | Ammathan, Unmal. | Do of do. | 7 0 0 | Do. | Do. | 1 | |
| 17 | Venkatadaswamy. | Second son of the late Kandaswamy Nair, brother of first and second Queens of the late ex-king of Kandy. | 10 10 2 | 27th February, 1858. | 80s. wife of em- igrant and pension in Commission. | 1 | |
| 18 | Donner, Nair. | Widow of the late first queen of Kandy. | 30 1 2 | Not known. | None. | 1 | |
| 19 | Venkatadaswamy. | Son of the late Kandaswamy Nair, brother of third queen of Kandy. | 20 0 0 | Do. | Do. | 1 | |
| 20 | Kandaswamy Nair. | Widow of do. | 10 0 0 | Do. | Do. | 1 | |
| 21 | Venkatadaswamy Nair. | Do of do. | 10 0 0 | Do. | Do. | 1 | |
| 22 | Donner, Nair. | Do of do. | 10 0 0 | Do. | Do. | 1 | |
| 23 | Padmaswamy. | Brother's son of Kandaswamy Nair, No. 20. | 10 0 0 | Do. | Do. | 1 | |
| 24 | Bandarath. | Mother of Padmaswamy Nair No. 23. | 10 0 0 | Do. | Do. | 1 | |
| 25 | Chellamm. | Grand-daughter of the sister to the mother of the late ex-king of Kandy. | 10 0 0 | Do. | Do. | 1 | |
| 26 | Venkatadaswamy Nair. | Daughter relation. | 10 0 0 | Do. | Do. | 1 | |
| 27 | Perumal Nair. | Do. | 10 0 0 | Do. | Do. | 1 | |
| 28 | Kandaswamy Nair. | Do. | 10 0 0 | Do. | Do. | 1 | |
| 29 | Kandaswamy Nair. | Do. | 10 0 0 | Do. | Do. | 1 | |
| 30 | Madraswamy Nair. | Do. | 10 0 0 | Do. | Do. | 1 | |
| 31 | Madraswamy Nair. | Do. | 10 0 0 | Do. | Do. | 1 | |
| 32 | Madraswamy Nair. | Do. | 10 0 0 | Do. | Do. | 1 | |
| 33 | Madraswamy Nair. | Do. | 10 0 0 | Do. | Do. | 1 | |
| 34 | Madraswamy Nair. | Do. | 10 0 0 | Do. | Do. | 1 | |
| 35 | Madraswamy Nair. | Do. | 10 0 0 | Do. | Do. | 1 | |
| 36 | Madraswamy Nair. | Do. | 10 0 0 | Do. | Do. | 1 | |
| 37 | Madraswamy Nair. | Do. | 10 0 0 | Do. | Do. | 1 | |
| 38 | Madraswamy Nair. | Do. | 10 0 0 | Do. | Do. | 1 | |
| 39 | Madraswamy Nair. | Do. | 10 0 0 | Do. | Do. | 1 | |
| 40 | Madraswamy Nair. | Do. | 10 0 0 | Do. | Do. | 1 | |
| 41 | Madraswamy Nair. | Do. | 10 0 0 | Do. | Do. | 1 | |
| 42 | Madraswamy Nair. | Do. | 10 0 0 | Do. | Do. | 1 | |

Tanjore Government Agent's Office,
Point Calimere, 25th June, 1868.(Signed) G. L. MORRIS,
Government Agent.

Back of Union prisoners is reported to maintain servants and followers

Proceedings of the Madras Government, Political Department, 14th July, 1869.

No. 32.

To the Right Honourable FRANCIS LORD NAPIER, Governor of Madras.

The Humble Petition of Vencataramasawmy Rajah, eldest son of the late Prince Soobooroyaloo of Kandy, lately resident at Negapatam.

Sheweth,

That petitioner's father lately memorialised the Government of Madras to recommend his case to the Government of Ceylon.

* 2. Upon this memorial (copy of which is annexed) His Excellency was pleased to order certain inquiries by the Collector of Negapatam.

3. Since this order was passed, petitioner has had the misfortune to lose his father, who died on the 4th January last.

4. That petitioner has a brother and a sister, a wife and two daughters, all being very young and helpless.

| | Years. |
|--------------------------------|--------|
| The age of the petitioner..... | 23 |
| Do of his brother..... | 12 |
| Do of his sister..... | 10 |
| Do of his wife..... | 22 |
| Do of his first daughter..... | 6 |
| Do of his second do..... | 1 |

5. That petitioner has no property of any description and his father died involved in debt to the extent of upwards of 7,000 Rupees.

6. That petitioner has not only to maintain his rank and position, but has to educate his brother and support his sister and also a great number of the old servants of the family. He has also to perform funeral rites and ceremonies of his father, which will cost a great deal of money.

7. That petitioner, therefore, prays that 1,000 Rupees may be granted for the expenses of the funeral rites, as was allowed in the case of the late queen, and a pension adequate to the maintenance of his rank, and equal, to some extent at least, to his wants. The amount applied for by his late father will barely enable petitioner to do this, as his father could rely upon old friends, both in India and Ceylon, for occasional assistance, whereas petitioner is too young and totally unknown.

8. For which act of gracious consideration, His Excellency's loyal petitioner, as in duty bound, shall ever pray.

3rd March, 1868.

No. 855.

Referred to the Government Agent, Tanjore, for report.

(By order.)

Fort Saint George,
26th April, 1869.

(Signed) H. E. STOKES,
Acting Under Secy. to Govt.

No. 33. From G. L. MORRIS, Esq., Government Agent, Tanjore, to the Chief Secretary to Government, Fort Saint George : dated Chatubadu, 4th May, 1869, No. 38.

In returning petition, No. 855 of 1869, addressed to Government by Vencataramasawmy Rajah, son of the late Prince Soobooroyaloo of Kandy, I have the honour to state that the memorial which petitioner says his father presented to His Lordship the Governor, was referred to me for report in the Proceedings of Government under date the 7th January, 1868, No. 4, upon which I submitted a full report upon the means and condition of petitioner's family, as also upon the Kandians in general (*vide* my letter, dated 25th June, 1868, No. 103). I observe that no orders of Government have yet been received on the letter above mentioned.

2. Petitioner complains that he is suffering much since his father's death, as he has no means of livelihood except the pension which his father was enjoying.

3. I beg, therefore, that the Government will be pleased to pass early orders on my letter above referred to.

No. 34. MINUTE by His Excellency the PRESIDENT, dated 24th May, 1869.

The accompanying papers have reference to the condition of the Kandian exiles and pensioners, who, as a measure of State policy, were in the early part of the present century transported to the Madras Presidency, and have since been maintained in the district of Tanjore at the expense of the Government of Ceylon. I ought to have brought the question sooner under the consideration of Government. The delay has been caused by a certain reluctance to initiate proposals which, I fear, may not be acceptable to the Colonial Government; but I feel that there is a duty involved in this matter which ought no longer to be deferred.

2. The Kandian exiles, if I understand the matter aright, are divided into two classes, and derive their origin from two families which successively occupied the throne of Ceylon, and fell successively, in part by their own errors, in part, it may be, by the policy of the English Government. Whatever may be the share of culpability justly attributable to either, all are now the representatives of misfortune, rather than of guilt, in our eyes, and, no doubt, still more so in the eyes of the people of this country.

3. It cannot be the desire of Her Majesty's Government, or of the Government of Ceylon, that exile should take the form of punishment, or that it should be perpetuated after the motives of expatriation have ceased to be imperative. I venture, however, to affirm that the support awarded to the unfortunate class of persons under consideration is so inadequate to their natural wants as to leave them in actual distress, and I am disposed to believe, subject to the better judgment of the Colonial authorities, that the time has come when they might be sent back to their country.

4. An inspection of the list furnished by the Collector of Tanjore will show Vencataramasawmy Rajah a near relative, and in some sort a representative of Mootoosawmy Rajah, a sovereign of Ceylon formerly in alliance with the English Government, in the receipt of a pension of £3 9 0 per month, though invested with some of the obligations of distinguished rank, and burdened with a train of relatives and dependents. Others closely connected with the same sovereign, nephews by blood and adoption, are endowed with monthly stipends descending from £7 to £2. These allowances are subject to a rapid system of diminution at the death of existing recipients. In another generation the progeny of these former princes will be placed in the position of domestic servants; in the next they will be reduced to the lowest level of helpless indigence.

5. In the other class of pensioners, known as the section of Sree Vikrama Simhalu Maharajah, some of the older female relatives of the dispossessed sovereign are still in the

enjoyment of stipends which may be sufficient for the decencies of life; but the younger members of the race have already fallen to pensions of £1-12-0 and less, while the distant relations dispute for a pittance of a few shillings.

6. It strikes me that this state of affairs is not generous or politic. The victims of the past revolutions of Ceylon ought not to exhibit before the eyes of the people of India a picture of parsimony and neglect on the part of English authority.

7. If the Government of Ceylon deems it indispensable that these people should still be maintained abroad, they should be maintained in comfort, and not only in present material comfort, but with some provision for education and for employment, in order that their descendants may not be reduced to unavoidable beggary or remain a burden on the State for ever. The Government of Ceylon might be requested, in my humble opinion, to despatch an officer to this country for the purpose of reviewing the condition of the exiles, first, with a view to the increase of their present scale of maintenance; and, secondly with a view to the education and eventual settlement of the younger members of the two communities, either in connexion with the land or in connexion with the public service.

8. But the Government of Ceylon should also, I think, be asked seriously to consider whether the exiles might not be permitted to return. Ceylon is now a settled and prosperous country. All traces of disaffection to Government, all elements of revolt or civil strife, have probably long since disappeared. Restored to their proper country, these unfortunate families would become objects of solicitude to Government; they would elicit sympathy; they would find protectors; and they would discover avenues to an independent and honourable existence, which will probably remain closed to them for ever here.

9. Such are my impressions respecting the position of the Kandian exiles in general. With reference to the particular petition from Vencataramasawmy Rajah, the son of Soobooroyaloo Rajah, lately deceased nephew of Moottoosawmy Rajah and adopted son of his widow, I think that Government should authorize the payment to him of a pension of

* This is the highest amount given to the class to which he belongs.

Rupees 70* per mensem in anticipation of the consent of the Government of Ceylon, and that they should instruct the Resident at Tanjore to

disburse to him a sum of money which may be deemed commensurate to the funeral solemnities of his father, Soobooroyaloo Rajah. In regard to the liquidation of the debt of Rupees 7,000, contracted by the late Soobooroyaloo in consequence of the alleged inadequacy of his stipend, I think that the question may be referred for the consideration and inquiry of the Government of Ceylon, should they depute an officer, as proposed, to this country.

(Signed) NAPIER.

No. 35 Order thereon, 14th July, 1869, No. 232.

Resolved that the following letter be despatched to the Government of Ceylon

(True Extract.)

(To be continued.)

Actg Secy. to Govt.

(143) 40

THE CEYLON ANTIQUARY AND LITERARY REGISTER.

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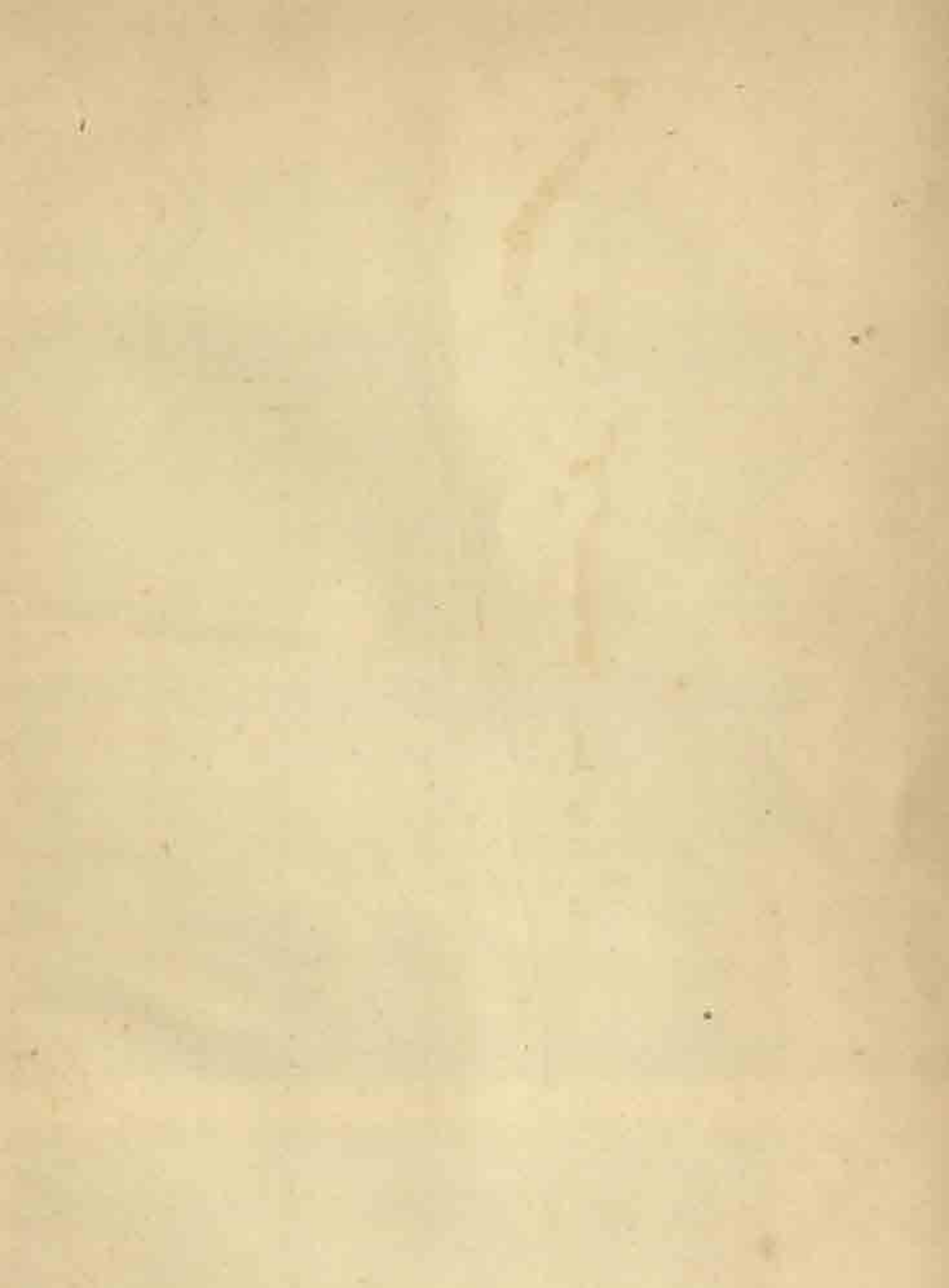
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ERRATA.

Page 188, line 5 from foot . . . for "Koraionka" read "Korawaka."

Page 190, " 4. " " " " for "Perkin" read "Parkia."





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